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THE

# PROSE WORKS

OF

# JOHN MILTON;

WITH

## A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

INTERSPERSED WITH

## TRANSLATIONS AND CRITICAL REMARKS,

BY

CHARLES SYMMONS, D. D.

OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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# CONTENTS

OF THE

## FIRST VOLUME.


Page

FAMILIAR Epistles to various Persons..... i

Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the causes that hitherto have hindered it: in two Books, written to a Friend... 1

Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by virtue of those Testimonies which are alleged to that purpose in some late Treatises; one whereof goes under the Name of James Archbishop of Armagh..... 60

The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty. In two Books..... 78

Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus..... 152

An Apology for Smectymnuus ..... 207

Of Education; to Master Samuel Hartlib ..... 273

AREOPAGITICA; a Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing, to the Parliament of England 286

The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon Law, and other Mistakes, to the true Meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compared, &c. ..... 332


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## ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page line

xii....2 from bot. *for* Arne ..*read* Arno.

xxxii....9 ..... ....Comena ... Comnena.

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# FAMILIAR EPISTLES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN,

By ROBERT FELLOWES, *A.M. Oxon.*

## I.

*To his Tutor* THOMAS JURE.

THOUGH I had determined, my excellent tutor, to write you an epiſtle in verſe, yet I could not ſatisfy myſelf without ſending alſo another in proſe. For the emotions of my gratitude, which your ſervices ſo juſtly inſpire, are too expanſive and too warm to be expreſſed in the confined limits of poetical metre; they demand the unconſtrained freedom of proſe, or rather the exuberant richneſs of Aſiatic phraſeology. Though it would far exceed my power accurately to deſcribe how much I am obliged to you, even if I could drain dry all the ſources of eloquence, or exhauſt all the topics of diſcourſe which Ariſtotle or the famed Pariſian Logician has collected. You complain with truth, that my letters have been very few and very ſhort; but I do not grieve at the omiſſion of ſo pleaſurable a duty, ſo much as I rejoice at having ſuch a place in your regard as makes you anxious often to hear from me. I beſeech you not to take it amiſs, that I have not now written to you for more than three years; but with your uſual benignity and candour to impute it rather to circumſtances than to inclination. For, heaven knows, that I regard you as a parent, that I have always treated you with the utmoſt reſpect, and that I was unwilling to teaze you with my compoſitions. And I was anxious that if my letters had nothing elſe to recommend them,



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they

they might be recommended by their rarity. And laſtly, ſince the ardour of my regard makes me imagine that you are always preſent, that I hear your voice and contemplate your looks; and as thus (which is uſually the caſe with lovers) I charm away my grief by the illuſion of your preſence, I was afraid when I wrote to you the idea of your diſtant ſeparation ſhould forcibly ruſh upon my mind; and that the pain of your abſence which was almoſt ſoothed into quieſcence ſhould revive and diſperſe the pleaſurable dream. I long ſince received your deſirable preſent of the Hebrew Bible. I wrote this at my lodgings in the city, not as uſual, ſurrounded by my books. If therefore there be any thing in this letter which either fails to give pleaſure, or which fruſtrates expectation, it ſhall be compenſated by a more elaborate compoſition as ſoon as I return to the dwelling of the Muſes.

London, March 26, 1625.

## II.

### *To* Alexander Gill.

I received your letters and your poem, with which I was highly delighted, and in which I diſcover the majeſty of a poet, and the ſtyle of Virgil. I knew how impoſſible it would be for a perſon of your genius entirely to divert his mind from the culture of the Muſes, and to extinguiſh thoſe heavenly emotions, and that ſacred and ethereal fire which is kindled in your heart. For what Claudian ſaid of himſelf may be ſaid of you, your "whole ſoul is inſtinct with the fire of Apollo." If therefore, on this occaſion, you have broken your own promiſes, I here commend the want of conſtancy which you mention; I commend the want of virtue, if any want of virtue there be. But, in referring the merits of your poem to my judgment, you confer on me as great an honour as the Gods would if the contending muſical immortals had called me in to adjudge the palm of victory;



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tory; as poets babble that it formerly fell to the lot of Imolus the guardian of the Lydian mount. I know not whether I ought to congratulate Henry Naſſau more on the capture of the city or the compoſition of your poems. For I think that this victory produced nothing more entitled to diſtinction and to fame than your poem. But ſince you celebrate the ſucceſſes of our allies in lays ſo harmonious and energetic, what may we not expect when our own ſucceſſes call for the congratulations of your muſe? Adieu, learned ſir, and believe me greatly obliged by the favour of your verſes.

London, May 20, 1628.

## III.

*To the ſame.*

In my former letter I did not ſo much anſwer yours as deprecate the obligation of then anſwering it; and therefore at the time I tacitly promiſed that you ſhould ſoon receive another, in which I would reply at length to your friendly challenge. But, though I had not promiſed this, it would moſt juſtly be your due, ſince one of your letters is full worth two of mine, or rather, on an accurate computation, worth a hundred. When your letter arrived I was ſtrenuouſly engaged in that work concerning which I had given you ſome obſcure hints, and the execution of which could not be delayed. One of the fellows of our college, who was to be the reſpondent in a philoſophical diſputation for his degree, engaged me to furniſh him with ſome verſes, which are annually required on this occaſion; ſince he himſelf had long neglected ſuch frivolous purſuits, and was then intent on more ſerious ſtudies. Of theſe verſes I ſent you a printed copy, ſince I knew both your diſcriminating taſte in poetry, and your candid allowances for poetry like mine. If you will in your turn deign to communicate to me any of your productions, you will,



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I can assure you, find no one to whom they will give more delight, or who will more impartially endeavour to estimate their worth. For as often as I recollect the topics of your conversation (the loss of which I regret even in this seminary of erudition), I cannot help painfully reflecting on what advantages I am deprived by your absence, since I never left your company without an increase of knowledge, and always had recourse to your mind as to an emporium of literature. Among us, as far as I know, there are only two or three, who, without any acquaintance with criticism or philosophy, do not instantly engage with raw and untutored judgments in the study of theology; and of this they acquire only a slender smattering, not more than sufficient to enable them to patch together a sermon with scraps pilfered, with little discrimination, from this author and from that. Hence I fear, lest our clergy should relapse into the sacerdotal ignorance of a former age. Since I find so few associates in study here, I should instantly direct my steps to London, if I had not determind to spend the summer vacation in the depths of literary solitude, and, as it were, hide myself in the chamber of the muses. As you do this every day, it would be injustice in me any longer to divert your attention or engross your time. Adieu.

Cambridge, July 2, 1628.

## IV.

### *To* Thomas Jure.

On reading your letter, my excellent tutor, I find only one superfluous passage, an apology for not writing to me sooner; for though nothing gives me more pleasure than to hear from you, how can I or ought I to expect that you should always have leisure enough from more serious and more sacred engagements to write to me; particularly when it is kindness, and not duty, which prompts you to write? Your many recent ser-

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vices

vices muſt prevent me from entertaining any ſuſpicion of your forgetfulneſs or neglect. Nor do I ſee how you could poſſibly forget one on whom you had conferred ſo many favours. Having an invitation into your part of the country in the ſpring, I ſhall readily accept it, that I may enjoy the deliciouſneſs of the ſeaſon as well as that of your converſation; and that I may withdraw myſelf for a ſhort time from the tumult of the city to your rural manſion, as to the renowned portico of Zeno or Tuſculan of Tully, where you live on your little farm with a moderate fortune, but a princely mind; and where you practiſe the contempt, and triumph over the temptations of ambition, pomp, luxury, and all that follows the chariot of fortune, or attracts the gaze and admiration of the thoughtleſs multitude. I hope that you who deprecated the blame of delay, will pardon me for my precipitance; for, after deferring this letter to the laſt, I choſe rather to write a few lines, however deficient in elegance, than to ſay nothing at all.

Adieu, reverend ſir.

Cambridge, July 21, 1628.

## V.

### *To* Alexander Gill.

If you had made me a preſent of a piece of plate, or any other valuable which excites the admiration of mankind, I ſhould not be aſhamed in my turn to remunerate you, as far as my circumſtances would permit. But ſince you, the day before yeſterday, preſented me with an elegant and beautiful poem in Hendecaſyllabic verſe, which far exceeds the worth of gold, you have increaſed my ſolicitude to diſcover in what manner I may requite the favour of ſo acceptable a gift. I had by me at the time no compoſitions in a like ſtyle which I thought at all fit to come in competition with the excellence of your



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performance. I ſend you therefore a compoſition which is not entirely my own, but the production of a truly inſpired bard, from whom I laſt week rendered this ode into Greek Heroic verſe, as I was lying in bed before the day dawned, without any previous deliberation, but with a certain impelling faculty, for which I know not how to account. By his help who does not leſs ſurpaſs you in his ſubject than you do me in the execution, I have ſent ſomething which may ſerve to reſtore the equilibrium between us. If you ſee reaſon to find fault with any particular paſſage, I muſt inform you that, from the time I left your ſchool, this is the firſt and the laſt piece I have ever compoſed in Greek; ſince, as you know, I have attended more to Latin and to Engliſh compoſition. He who at this time employs his labour and his time in writing Greek is in danger of writing what will never be read. Adieu, and expect to ſee me, God willing, at London on Monday among the bookſellers. In the mean time, if you have intereſt enough with that Doctor who is the maſter of the college to promote my buſineſs, I beſeech you to ſee him as ſoon as poſſible, and to act as your friendſhip for me may prompt.

From my villa, Decemb. 4, 1634.

## VI.

### *To* Carolo Deodati.

I clearly ſee that you are determined not to be overcome in ſilence; if this be ſo, you ſhall have the palm of victory for I will write firſt. Though, if the reaſons which make each of us ſo long in writing to the other ſhould ever be judicially examined, it will appear that I have many more excuſes for not writing than you. For it is well known, and you well know, that I am naturally ſlow in writing, and averſe to write; while you, either from diſpoſition or from habit, ſeem to

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to have little reluctance in engaging in these literary (προσφωνησεις) allocutions. It is also in my favour, that your method of study is such as to admit of frequent interruptions, in which you visit your friends, write letters, or go abroad; but it is my way to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits. From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions; but I am not, nevertheless, my dear Deodati, a very sluggish correspondent; nor has it at any time happened that I ever left any letter of yours unanswered till another came. So I hear that you write to the bookseller and often to your brother, either of whom, from their nearness would readily have forwarded any communication from you to me. But what I blame you for is, for not keeping your promise of paying me a visit when you left the city; a promise which, if it had once occurred to your thoughts, would certainly have forcibly suggested the necessity of writing. These are my reasons for expostulation and censure. You will look to your own defence. But what can occasion your silence? Is it ill-health? Are there in those parts any literati with whom you may play and prattle as we used to do? When do you return? How long do you mean to stay among the Hyperboreans? I wish you would give me an answer to each of these questions; and that you may not suppose that I am quite unconcerned about what relates to you, I must inform you that in the beginning of the autumn I went out of my way to see your brother, in order to learn how you did. And lately when I was accidentally informed in London that you were in town, I instantly hastened to your lodgings; but it was only the shadow of a dream, for you were no where to be found. Wherefore, as soon as you can do it without any inconvenience to yourself, I beseech you to take up your quarters where we may at least be able occasionally to visit one another; for I hope that you would not be a different neighbour to us in the country than you are in



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town. But this is as it pleaſes God. I have much to ſay to you concerning myſelf and my ſtudies, but I would rather do it when we meet, and as to-morrow I am about to return into the country, and am buſy in making preparations for my journey, I have but juſt time to ſcribble this. Adieu.

London, Sept. 7, 1637.

## VII.

*To the ſame.*

Most of my other friends think it enough to give me one farewell in their letters, but I ſee why you do it ſo often; for you give me to underſtand that your medical authority is now added to the potency, and ſubſervient to the completion of thoſe general expreſſions of good-will which are nothing but words and air. You wiſh me my health ſix hundred times, in as great a quantity as I can wiſh, as I am able to bear, or even more than this. Truly, you ſhould be appointed butler to the houſe of Health, whoſe ſtores you ſo laviſhly beſtow; or at leaſt health ſhould become your paraſite, ſince you ſo lord it over her, and command her at your pleaſure. I ſend you therefore my congratulations and my thanks, both on account of your friendſhip and your ſkill. I was long kept waiting in expectation of a letter from you, which you had engaged to write; but when no letter came my old regard for you ſuffered not, I can aſſure you, the ſmalleſt diminution, for I had ſuppoſed that the ſame apology for remiſſneſs, which you had employed in the beginning of our correſpondence, you would again employ. This was a ſuppoſition agreeable to truth and to the intimacy between us. For I do not think that true friendſhip conſiſts in the frequency of letters, or in profeſſions of regard, which may be counterfeited; but it is ſo deeply rooted in the heart and affections, as to ſupport itſelf againſt the rudeſt blaſt; and when it origi-

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nates in ſincerity and virtue, it may remain through life without ſuſpicion and without blame, even when there is no longer any reciprocal interchange of kindneſſes. For the cheriſhing aliment of a friendſhip ſuch as this, there is not ſo much need of letters as of a lively recollection of each other's virtues. And though you have not written, you have ſomething that may ſupply the omiſſion: your probity writes to me in your ſtead; it is a letter ready written on the innermoſt membrane of the heart; the ſimplicity of your manners, and the rectitude of your principles, ſerve as correſpondents in your place; your genius, which is above the common level, writes, and ſerves in a ſtill greater degree to endear you to me. But now you have got poſſeſſion of this deſpotic citadel of medicine, do not alarm me with the menace of being obliged to repay thoſe ſix hundred healths which you have beſtowed, if I ſhould, which God forbid, ever forfeit your friendſhip. Remove that formidable battery which you ſeem to have placed upon my breaſt to keep off all ſickneſs but what comes by your permiſſion. But that you may not indulge any exceſs of menace I muſt inform you, that I cannot help loving you ſuch as you are; for whatever the Deity may have beſtowed upon me in other reſpects, he has certainly inſpired me, if any ever were inſpired, with a paſſion for the good and fair. Nor did Ceres, according to the fable, ever ſeek her daughter Proſerpine with ſuch unceaſing ſolicitude as I have ſought this τὴν καλὴν ἰδέαν, this perfect model of the beautiful in all the forms and appearances of things (πολλαι γαρ μορφαι των δαιμονιων, many are the forms of the divinities.) I am wont day and night to continue my ſearch; and I follow in the way in which you go before. Hence, I feel an irreſiſtible impulſe to cultivate the friendſhip of him, who, deſpiſing the prejudiced and falſe conceptions of the vulgar, dares to think, to ſpeak, and to be that which the higheſt wiſdom has in every age taught to be the beſt. But if my diſpoſition or my deſtiny were ſuch that I could without any conflict or any toil emerge to the higheſt pitch of diſtinction and of praiſe; there

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there would nevertheleſs be no prohibition, either human or divine, againſt my conſtantly cheriſhing and revering thoſe, who have either obtained the ſame degree of glory, or are ſucceſsfully labouring to obtain it. But now I am ſure that you wiſh me to gratify your curioſity, and to let you know what I have been doing or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Deodati, and ſuffer me for a moment to ſpeak without bluſhing in a more lofty ſtrain. Do you aſk what I am meditating? by the help of heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? πτεροφυῶ, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly; but my Pegaſus has not yet feathers enough to ſoar aloft in the fields of air. I will now tell you ſeriouſly what I deſign; to take chambers in one of the inns of court, where I may have the benefit of a pleaſant and ſhady walk; and where with a few aſſociates I may enjoy more comfort when I chooſe to ſtay at home, and have a more elegant ſociety when I chooſe to go abroad. In my preſent ſituation, you know in what obſcurity I am buried, and to what inconveniencies I am expoſed. You ſhall likewiſe have ſome information reſpecting my ſtudies. I went through the peruſal of the Greek authors to the time when they ceaſed to be Greeks; I was long employed in unravelling the obſcure hiſtory of the Italians under the Lombards, the Franks, and Germans, to the time when they received their liberty from Rodolphus king of Germany. From that time it will be better to read ſeparately the particular tranſactions of each ſtate. But how are you employed? How long will you attend to your domeſtic ties and forget your city connections? But unleſs this novercal hoſtility be more inveterate than that of the Dacian or Sarmatian, you will feel it a duty to viſit me in my winter quarters. In the mean time, if you can do it without inconvenience, I will thank you to ſend me Juſtinian the hiſtorian of Venice. I will either keep it carefully till your arrival, or if you had rather, will ſoon ſend it back again. Adieu.

London, Sept. 23, 1637.

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## VIII.

*To* BENEDITTO BONOMATTAI, *a Florentine.*

I AM glad to hear, my dear Bonomattai, that you are preparing new inſtitutes of your native language, and have juſt brought the work to a concluſion. The way to fame which you have choſen is the ſame as that which ſome perſons of the firſt genius have embraced; and your fellow-citizens ſeem ardently to expect that you will either illuſtrate or amplify, or at leaſt poliſh and methodize the labours of your predeceſſors. By ſuch a work you will lay your countrymen under no common obligation, which they will be ungrateful if they do not acknowledge. For I hold him to deſerve the higheſt praiſe who fixes the principles, and forms the manners of a ſtate, and makes the wiſdom of his adminiſtration conſpicuous both at home and abroad. But I aſſign the ſecond place to him, who endeavours by precepts and by rules to perpetuate that ſtyle and idiom of ſpeech and compoſition which have flouriſhed in the pureſt periods of the language, and who, as it were, throws up ſuch a trench around it that people may be prevented from going beyond the boundary almoſt by the terrors of a Romulean prohibition. If we compare the benefits which each of theſe confer, we ſhall find that the former alone can render the intercourſe of the citizens juſt and conſcientious, but that the laſt gives that gentility, that elegance, that refinement, which are next to be deſired. The one inſpires lofty courage and intrepid ardour againſt the invaſion of an enemy; the other exerts himſelf to annihilate that barbariſm which commits more extenſive ravages on the minds of men, which is the inteſtine enemy of genius and literature, by the taſte which he inſpires, and the good authors which he cauſes to be read. Nor do I think it a matter of little moment whether the language of a people be vitiated or refined, whether the

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the popular idiom be erroneous or correct. This conſideration was more than once found ſalutary at Athens. It is the opinion of Plato, that changes in the dreſs and habits of the citizens portend great commotions and changes in the ſtate; and I am inclined to believe, that when the language in common uſe in any country becomes irregular and depraved, it is followed by their ruin or their degradation. For what do terms uſed without ſkill or meaning, which are at once corrupt and miſapplied, denote but a people liſtleſs, ſupine, and ripe for ſervitude? On the contrary, we have never heard of any people or ſtate which has not flouriſhed in ſome degree of proſperity as long as their language has retained its elegance and its purity. Hence, my Beneditto, you may be induced to proceed in executing a work ſo uſeful to your country, and may clearly ſee what an honourable and permanent claim you will have to the approbation and the gratitude of your fellow-citizens. Thus much I have ſaid not to make you acquainted with that of which you were ignorant, but becauſe I was perſuaded that you are more intent on ſerving your country than in conſidering the juſt title which you have to its remuneration. I will now mention the favourable opportunity which you have, if you wiſh to embrace it, of obliging foreigners, among whom there is no one at all conſpicuous for genius or for elegance who does not make the Tuſcan language his delight, and indeed conſider it as an eſſential part of education, particularly if he be only ſlightly tinctured with the literature of Greece or of Rome. I who certainly have not merely wetted the tip of my lips in the ſtream of thoſe languages, but in proportion to my years, have ſwallowed the moſt copious draughts, can yet ſometimes retire with avidity and delight to feaſt on Dante, Petrarch, and many others; nor has Athens itſelf been able to confine me to the tranſparent wave of its Iliſſus, nor antient Rome to the banks of its Tiber, ſo as to prevent my viſiting with delight the ſtream of the Arne, and the hills of Fæſolæ. A ſtranger from the ſhores of the fartheſt ocean, I have now ſpent ſome days

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days among you, and am become quite enamoured of your nation. Conſider whether there were ſufficient reaſon for my preference, that you may more readily remember what I ſo earneſtly importune; that you would, for the ſake of foreigners add ſomething to the grammar which you have begun, and indeed almoſt finiſhed, concerning the right pronunciation of the language, and made as eaſy as the nature of the ſubject will admit. The other critics in your language ſeem to this day to have had no other deſign than to ſatisfy their own countrymen, without taking any concern about any body elſe. Though I think that they would have provided better for their own reputation and for the glory of the Italian language, if they had delivered their precepts in ſuch a manner as if it was for the intereſt of all men to learn their language. But, for all them, we might think that you Italians wiſhed to confine your wiſdom within the pomærium of the Alps. This praiſe therefore, which no one has anticipated, will be entirely yours immaculate and pure; nor will it be leſs ſo if you will be at the pains to point out who may juſtly claim the ſecond rank of fame after the renowned chiefs of the Florentine literature; who excels in the dignity of tragedy, or the feſtivity and elegance of comedy; who has ſhown acuteneſs of remark or depth of reflection in his epiſtles or dialogues; to whom belongs the grandeur of the hiſtoric ſtyle. Thus it will be eaſy for the ſtudent to chooſe the beſt writers in every department; and if he wiſhes to extend his reſearches farther, he will know which way to take. Among the antients you will in this reſpect find Cicero and Fabius deſerving of your imitation; but I know not one of your own countrymen who does. But though I think as often as I have mentioned this ſubject that your courteſy and benignity have induced you to comply with my requeſt, I am unwilling that thoſe qualities ſhould deprive you of the homage of a more poliſhed and elaborate entreaty. For ſince your ſingular modeſty is ſo apt to depreciate your own performances; the dignity of the ſubject, and my reſpect for you, will not ſuffer me to rate them below

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below their worth. And it is certainly juſt that he who ſhows the greateſt facility in complying with a requeſt ſhould not receive the leſs honour on account of his compliance. On this occaſion I have employed the Latin rather than your own language, that I might in Latin confeſs my imperfect acquaintance with that language which I wiſh you by your precepts to embelliſh and adorn. And I hoped that if I invoked the venerable Latian mother, hoary with years, and crowned with the reſpect of ages, to plead the cauſe of her daughter, I ſhould give to my requeſt a force and authority which nothing could reſiſt. Adieu.

Florence, Sept. 10, 1638.

## IX.

### *To* Luke Holstein, *in the Vatican at Rome.*

Though in my paſſage through Italy, many perſons have honoured me with ſingular and memorable proofs of their civility and friendſhip, yet on ſo ſhort an acquaintance I know not whether I can truly ſay that any one ever gave me ſtronger marks of his regard than yourſelf. For, when I went to viſit you in the Vatican, though I was not at all known to you, except perhaps from the incidental mention of Alexander Cherion, you received me with the utmoſt affability and kindneſs. You afterwards obligingly admitted me into the Muſeum, you permitted me to ſee the precious repoſitory of literature, and many Greek MSS. adorned with your own obſervations; ſome of which have never yet ſeen the light, but ſeem, like the ſpirits in Virgil,

> In a green valley the pent ſpirits lay,
> Impatient to behold the realms of day,

to demand the parturient labours of the preſs. Some of them you have already publiſhed, which are greedily received by the learned. You preſented me with copies of theſe on my departure. And I cannot but impute it to

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to your kind mention of me to the noble Cardinal Franciſco Barberino, that at a grand muſical entertainment which he gave, he waited for me at the door, ſought me out among the crowd, took me by the hand, and introduced me into the palace with every mark of the moſt flattering diſtinction. When I went the next day to render him my acknowledgments for this his gracious condeſcenſion, it was you who obtained me an interview, in which I experienced a degree of civility and kindneſs greater than I had any reaſon to expect from a perſon of his high dignity and character. I know not, moſt learned Holſtein, whether I am the only Engliſhman to whom you have ſhown ſo much friendſhip and regard, or whether you are led to ſhow the ſame to all my countrymen, from a recollection of the three years which you paſſed at the univerſity of Oxford. If this be the caſe you generouſly pay to our dear England the fees of her education; and you both deſerve the grateful acknowledgments of each individual in particular, and of our country in general. But if this diſtinction was ſhown excluſively to me, if you ſelected me as worthy of your friendſhip, I congratulate myſelf on your preference, while I think your candour greater than my deſert. I ſtrenuouſly urged my friends, according to your inſtructions, to inſpect the Codex Mediceus; though they have at preſent but little hope of being able to do it. For in that library nothing can be tranſcribed, nor even a pen put to paper without permiſſion being previouſly obtained; but they ſay that there is at Rome one John Baptiſta Donio, who is daily expected at Florence where he has been invited to read lectures on the Greek language, and by whom you may eaſily obtain the object of your wiſhes. It would indeed have been far more grateful to me if I could have been at all inſtrumental in promoting thoſe honourable and illuſtrious purſuits in which you are engaged; and which it behoves all men, on all occaſions and in all circumſtances, to promote. I add that you will lay me under new obligations if you will expreſs my warmeſt acknowledgments, and my moſt reſpectful compliments to the moſt noble Cardinal,

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Cardinal, whoſe great virtues and whoſe honeſt zeal, ſo favourable to the encouragement of all the liberal arts, are the conſtant objects of my admiration. Nor can I look without reverence on that mild, and if I may ſo ſpeak, that lowly loftineſs of mind, which is exalted by its own humiliation, and to which we may apply a verſe in the Ceres of Callimachus,

Γ'θματα μαν χέρσω κεφαλαδε' οἱ ἀπτετ' ὀλύμπω.
On th' earth he treads, but to the heavens he ſoars.

His conduct may ſerve to ſhow other princes that a forbidding ſupercilioufneſs and a dazzling parade of power are quite incompatible with real magnanimity. Nor do I think that while he lives any one will regret the loſs of the Eſti, the Farneſe, or the Medici, who formerly eſpouſed with ſo much zeal the patronage of literature. Adieu moſt learned Holſtein, and if you think me worthy of the honour, rank me I beſeech you, for the future, wherever I may be, among thoſe who are moſt attached to you and to the ſtudies in which you are engaged.

Florence, March 30, 1639.

## X.

### *To* Carolo Deodati, *a Florentine Noble.*

I derived, my dear Charles, from the unexpected receipt of your letter a pleaſure greater than I can expreſs; but of which you may have ſome notion from the pain with which it was attended; and without a mixture of which hardly any great pleaſure is conceded to mankind. While I was peruſing the firſt lines of yours, in which the elegance of expreſſion ſeems to conteſt the palm with the tenderneſs of friendſhip, I felt nothing but an unmingled purity of joy, particularly when I found you labouring to make friendſhip win the

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the prize. But as ſoon as I came to that paſſage in which you tell me that you had previouſly ſent me three letters which muſt have been loſt, then the ſimplicity of my joy began to be imbued with grief and agitated with regret. But ſomething more diſaſtrous ſoon appears. It is often a ſubject of ſorrowful reflection to me, that thoſe with whom I have been either fortuitouſly or legally aſſociated by contiguity of place, or ſome tie of little moment, are continually at hand to infeſt my home, to ſtun me with their noiſe and waſte me with vexation, while thoſe who are endeared to me by the cloſeſt ſympathy of manners, of taſtes and purſuits, are almoſt all withheld from my embrace either by death or an inſuperable diſtance of place; and have for the moſt part been ſo rapidly hurried from my ſight, that my proſpects ſeem continually ſolitary, and my heart perpetually deſolate. With a lively pleaſure do I read your anxious enquiries about my health ſince I left Florence, and your unintermitted recollections of our intimacy. Thoſe recollections have been reciprocal, though I thought that they had been cheriſhed by me alone. I would not conceal from you that my departure excited in me the moſt poignant ſenſations of uneaſineſs, which revive with increaſed force as often as I recollect that I left ſo many companions ſo engaging, and ſo many friends ſo kind, collected in one city; which is, alas, ſo far removed; which imperious circumſtances compelled me to quit againſt my inclination, but which was and is to me moſt dear. I appeal to the tomb of Damon which I ſhall ever cheriſh and revere; his death occaſioned the moſt bitter ſorrow and regret, which I could find no more eaſy way to mitigate than by recalling the memory of thoſe times, when, with thoſe perſons, and particularly with you, I taſted bliſs without alloy. This you would have known long ſince, if you received my poem on that occaſion. I had it carefully ſent, that whatever poetical merit it might poſſeſs, the few verſes which are included in the manner of an emblem, might afford no doubtful proof of my love for you. I thought that by this means I ſhould entice you or ſome other perſons to write; for if I wrote firſt it ſeemed neceſſary that I



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ſhould write to all, as if I wrote to one excluſively I feared that I ſhould give offence to the reſt; ſince I hope that many are ſtill left who might juſtly claim the performance of this duty. But you, by firſt addreſſing me in a manner ſo truly friendly, and by a triple repetition of epiſtolary kindneſs, have laid me under an obligation to write to you, and have exonerated me from the cenſure of thoſe to whom I do not write. Though I muſt confeſs that I found other reaſons for ſilence in theſe convulſions which my country has experienced ſince my return home, which neceſſarily diverted my attention from the proſecution of my ſtudies to the preſervation of my property and my life. For can you imagine that I could have leiſure to taſte the ſweets of literary eaſe while ſo many battles were fought, ſo much blood ſhed, and while ſo much ravage prevailed among my fellow-citizens? But even in the midſt of this tempeſtuous period, I have publiſhed ſeveral works in my native language, which if they had not been written in Engliſh, I ſhould have pleaſure in ſending to you, whoſe judgment I ſo much revere. My Latin poems I will ſoon ſend as you deſire; and this I ſhould have done long ago without being deſired, if I had not ſuſpected that ſome rather harſh expreſſions which they contained againſt the Roman pontiff would have rendered them leſs pleaſing to your ears. Now I requeſt whenever I mention the rites of your religion in my own way, that you will prevail on your friends (for I am under no apprehenſions from you) to ſhow me the ſame indulgence not only which they did to Aligerius and to Petrarch on a ſimilar occaſion, but which you did formerly with ſuch ſingular benevolence to the freedom of my converſation on topics of religion. With pleaſure I peruſed your deſcription of the funeral of king Louis. I do not acknowledge the inſpiration of that vulgar and mercenary Mercury whom you jocoſely profeſs to worſhip, but of that Mercury who excels in eloquence, who is dear to the Muſes and the patron of men of genius. It remains for us to hit upon ſome method by which our correſpondence may in future be carried on with greater regularity and fewer interruptions. This does not ſeem very

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very difficult, when we have ſo many merchants who trade ſo extenſively with us; whoſe agents paſs to and fro every week, and whoſe ſhips are ſailing backward and forward almoſt as often. In the mean time, my dear Charles, farewell, and preſent my kind wiſhes to Cultellino, Franciſco, Treſcobaldo, Maltateſto, the younger Clemantillo, and every other inquiring friend, and to all the members of the Gaddian academy. Adieu.

London, April 21, 1647.

## XI.

*To* HERMANN MILLES, *Secretary to the Count of Oldenburgh.*

BEFORE I return any anſwer, moſt noble Hermann, to your letter which I received on the 17th of December, I will firſt explain the reaſons why I did not write before, that you may not impute to me the blame of a ſilence which has ſo long continued. Firſt, the delay was occaſioned by ill-health, whoſe hoſtilities I have now almoſt perpetually to combat; next, by a cauſe of ill-health, a neceſſary and ſudden removal to another houſe, which had accidentally begun to take place on the day that your letter arrived; and laſtly, by ſhame that I had no intelligence concerning your buſineſs, which I thought that it would be agreeable to communicate. For the day before yeſterday when I accidentally met the Lord Froſt, and anxiouſly enquired of him whether any anſwer to you had been reſolved on? (for the ſtate of my health often kept me from the council) he replied not without emotion, that nothing had been reſolved on, and that he could make no progreſs in expediting the buſineſs. I thought it therefore better to be ſilent for a time, than immediately to write what I knew that it would be irkſome for you to hear, but rather to wait till I ſhould have the pleaſure to

communicate what I was ſure it would give you ſo much pleaſure to know. This I hope that I have to-day accompliſhed; for when I had more than once reminded the preſident of your buſineſs, he replied that to-morrow they would diſcuſs what anſwer they ſhould give. If I am the firſt, as I endeavoured, to give you intelligence of this event, I think that it will contribute greatly to your ſatisfaction, and will ſerve as a ſpecimen of my zeal for the promotion of your intereſts.

Weſtminſter.

## XII.

*To the renowned* LEONARD PHILARA, *the Athenian.*

I WAS in ſome meaſure made acquainted, moſt accompliſhed Philara, with your good-will towards me, and with your favourable opinion of my defence of the people of England, by your letters to the Lord Auger, a perſon ſo renowned for his ſingular integrity in executing the embaſſies of the republic. I then received your compliments with your picture and an eulogy worthy of your virtues; and, laſtly, a letter full of civility and kindneſs. I who am not wont to deſpiſe the genius of the German, the Dane, and Swede, could not but ſet the higheſt value on your applauſe, who were born at Athens itſelf, and who after having happily finiſhed your ſtudies in Italy, obtained the moſt ſplendid diſtinctions and the higheſt honours. For if Alexander the Great, when waging war in the diſtant Eaſt, declared that he encountered ſo many dangers and ſo many trials for the ſake of having his praiſes celebrated by the Athenians, ought not I to congratulate myſelf on receiving the praiſes of a man in whom alone the talents and the virtues of the antient Athenians ſeem to recover their freſhneſs and their ſtrength after ſo long an interval of corruption and decay. To the writings of thoſe illuſtrious men which your city has produced, in the

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peruſal

perusal of which I have been occupied from my youth, it is with pleasure I confess that I am indebted for all my proficiency in literature. Did I possess their command of language and their force of persuasion I should feel the highest satisfaction in employing them to excite our armies and our fleets to deliver Greece, the parent of eloquence, from the despotism of the Ottomans. Such is the enterprize in which you seem to wish to implore my aid. And what did formerly men of the greatest courage and eloquence deem more noble or more glorious, than by their orations or their valour to assert the liberty and independence of the Greeks? But we ought besides to attempt, what is, I think, of the greatest moment, to inflame the present Greeks with an ardent desire to emulate the virtue, the industry, the patience of their antient progenitors; and this we cannot hope to see effected by any one but yourself, and for which you seem adapted by the splendour of your patriotism, combined with so much discretion, so much skill in war, and such an unquenchable thirst for the recovery of your antient liberty. Nor do I think that the Greeks would be wanting to themselves, nor that any other people would be wanting to the Greeks. Adieu.

London, Jan. 1652.

## XIII.

### *To* Richard Heth.

If I were able, my excellent friend, to render you any service in the promotion of your studies, which at best could have been but very small, I rejoice on more accounts than one, that that service, though so long unknown, was bestowed on so fruitful and so genial a soil, which has produced an honest pastor to the church, a good citizen to our country, and to me a most acceptable friend. Of this I am well aware, not only



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from the general habits of your life, but from the juſtneſs of your religious and political opinions, and particularly from the extraordinary ardour of your gratitude which no abſence, no change of circumſtances, or lapſe of time can either extinguiſh or impair. Nor is it poſſible till you have made a more than ordinary progreſs in virtue, in piety, and in the improvement of the mind and heart, to feel ſo much gratitude towards thoſe who have in the leaſt aſſiſted you in the acquiſition. Wherefore, my pupil, a name which with your leave I will employ, be aſſured that you are among the firſt objects of my regard; nor would any thing be more agreeable to me, if your circumſtances permit as much as your inclination, than to have you take up your abode ſomewhere in my neighbourhood, where we may often ſee each other, and mutually profit by the reciprocations of kindneſs and of literature. But this muſt be as God pleaſes, and as you think beſt. Your future communications may, if you pleaſe, be in our own language, leſt (though you are no mean proficient in Latin compoſition) the labour of writing ſhould make each of us more averſe to write; and that we may freely diſcloſe every ſenſation of our hearts without being impeded by the ſhackles of a foreign language. You may ſafely entruſt the care of your letters to any ſervant of that family which you mention. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, Decemb. 13, 1652.

## XIV.

*To* HENRY OLDENBURGH, *Aulic Counſellor to the Senate of Bremen.*

I RECEIVED your former letters, moſt accompliſhed ſir, at the moment when your clerk was at the point of ſetting out on his return, ſo that I had no power of returning you an anſwer at that time. This ſome

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ſome unexpected engagements concurred to delay, or I ſhould not have ſent you my Defence without any compliment or apology; and I have ſince received another letter from you in which you return me more ample acknowledgments than the preſent deſerved. And I had more than once an intention of ſubſtituting our Engliſh for your Latin, that you, who have ſtudied our language with more accuracy and ſucceſs than any foreigner with whom I am acquainted, might loſe no opportunity of writing it, which I think that you would do with equal elegance and correctneſs. But in this reſpect you ſhall act as you feel inclined. With reſpect to the ſubject of your letter you are clearly of my opinion, that that cry to heaven could not have been audible by any human being, which only ſerves the more palpably to ſhow the effrontery of him who affirms with ſo much audacity that he heard it. Who he was you have cauſed a doubt, though long ſince in ſome converſations which we had on the ſubject juſt after your return from Holland, you ſeemed to have no doubt but that More was the author to whom the compoſition was in thoſe parts unanimouſly aſcribed. If you have received any more authentic information on this ſubject I wiſh that you would acquaint me with it. With reſpect to the mode of handling the ſubject I would willingly agree with you, and what could more readily perſuade me to do it than the unfeigned approbation of perſons ſo zealouſly attached to me as you are; if my health and the deprivation of my ſight, which is more grievous than all the infirmities of age, or if the cries of theſe impoſtors will permit, I ſhall readily be led to engage in other undertakings, though I know not whether they can be more noble or more uſeful; for what can be more noble or more uſeful than to vindicate the liberty of man? An inactive indolence was never my delight, but this unexpected conteſt with the enemies of liberty has involuntarily withdrawn my attention from very different and more pleaſurable purſuits. What I have done, and which I was under an obligation to do, I feel no reaſon to regret, and I am far from thinking, as you ſeem to ſuppoſe, that I have laboured in vain.



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But more on this at another opportunity. At preſent adieu, moſt learned ſir, and number me among your friends.

Weſtminſter, July 6, 1654.

## XV.

### *To* Leonard Philara, *the Athenian.*

I have always been devotedly attached to the literature of Greece, and particularly to that of your Athens; and have never ceaſed to cheriſh the perſuaſion that that city would one day make me ample recompenſe for the warmth of my regard. The antient genius of your renowned country has favoured the completion of my prophecy in preſenting me with your friendſhip and eſteem. Though I was known to you only by my writings, and we were removed to ſuch a diſtance from each other, you moſt courteouſly addreſſed me by letter; and when you unexpectedly came to London, and ſaw me who could no longer ſee, my affliction which cauſes none to regard me with greater admiration, and perhaps many even with feelings of contempt, excited your tendereſt ſympathy and concern. You would not ſuffer me to abandon the hope of recovering my ſight, and informed me that you had an intimate friend at Paris, Doctor Thevenot, who was particularly celebrated in diſorders of the eyes, whom you would conſult about mine, if I would enable you to lay before him the cauſes and the ſymptoms of the complaint. I will do what you deſire, leſt I ſhould ſeem to reject that aid which perhaps may be offered me by heaven. It is now, I think, about ten years ſince I perceived my viſion to grow weak and dull; and, at the ſame time, I was troubled with pain in my kidneys and bowels, accompanied with flatulency. In the morning, if I began to read, as was my cuſtom, my eyes inſtantly ached

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ached intenſely, but were refreſhed after a little corporeal exerciſe. The candle which I looked at, ſeemed as it were encircled with a rainbow. Not long after the ſight in the left part of the left eye (which I loſt ſome years before the other) became quite obſcured; and prevented me from diſcerning any object on that ſide. The ſight in my other eye has now been gradually and ſenſibly vaniſhing away for about three years; ſome months before it had entirely periſhed, though I ſtood motionleſs, every thing which I looked at ſeemed in motion to and fro, A ſtiff cloudy vapour ſeemed to have ſettled on my forehead and temples, which uſually occaſions a ſort of ſomnolent preſſure upon my eyes, and particularly from dinner till the evening. So that I often recollect what is ſaid of the poet Phineas in the Argonautics.

> A ſtupor deep his cloudy temples bound,
> And when he walk'd he ſeem'd as whirling round,
> Or in a feeble tranſe he ſpeechleſs lay.

I ought not to omit that, while I had any ſight left, as ſoon as I lay down on my bed and turned on either ſide a flood of light uſed to guſh from my cloſed eyelids. Then as my ſight became daily more impaired, the colours became more faint and were emitted with a certain inward crackling ſound; but at preſent every ſpecies of illumination being, as it were, extinguiſhed, there is diffuſed around me nothing but darkneſs, or darkneſs mingled and ſtreaked with an aſhy brown. Yet the darkneſs in which I am perpetually immerſed, ſeems always, both by night and day, to approach nearer to white than black, and when the eye is rolling in its ſocket, it admits a little particle of light as through a chink. And though your phyſician may kindle a ſmall ray of hope, yet I make up my mind to the malady as quite incurable; and I often reflect, that as the wiſe man admoniſhes, days of darkneſs are deſtined to each of us, the darkneſs which I experience, leſs oppreſſive than that of the tomb, is, owing to the ſingular goodneſs of the Deity, paſſed amid the purſuits of literature and the cheering ſalutations of friendſhip. But if, as is written,

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written, man ſhall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God, why may not any one acquieſce in the privation of his ſight, when God has ſo amply furniſhed his mind and his conſcience with eyes. While he ſo tenderly provides for me, while he ſo graciouſly leads me by the hand and conducts me on the way, I will, ſince it is his pleaſure, rather rejoice than repine at being blind. And, my dear Philara, whatever may be the event I wiſh you adieu with no leſs courage and compoſure than if I had the eyes of a lynx.

Weſtminſter, September 28, 1654.

## XVI.

### *To* Leo *of Aizema.*

It is with great pleaſure I find that you ſtill retain the ſame regard for me which you indicated while among us. With reſpect to the book concerning divorce, which you ſay that you had engaged ſome one to turn into Dutch, I would rather that you had engaged him to turn it into Latin. For I have already experienced how the vulgar are wont to receive opinions, which are not agreeable to vulgar prejudice. I formerly wrote three treatiſes on this ſubject; one in two books, in which the doctrine of divorce is diffuſely diſcuſſed; another which is entitled Tetrachordon, in which the four principal paſſages in ſcripture relative to the doctrine are explained; a third, Colaſterion, which contains an anſwer to ſome vulgar ſcioliſt. I know not which of theſe treatiſes or which edition you have engaged him to tranſlate. The firſt treatiſe has been twice publiſhed, and the ſecond edition is much enlarged. If you have not already received this information or wiſh me to ſend you the more correct edition, or the other treatiſes, I ſhall do it immediately, and with pleaſure. For I do not wiſh at preſent that they ſhould receive

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receive any alterations or additions. If you perſiſt in your preſent purpoſe I wiſh you a faithful tranſlator and every ſucceſs.

Weſtminſter, Feb. 5, 1654.

## XVII.

*To* EZECHIEL SPANHEIM, *of Geneva.*

I KNOW not how it happened that your letters were not delivered to me for three months after they were written. I hope that mine will have a more expeditious conveyance: for, owing to various engagements, I have put off writing from day to day till I perceive that almoſt another three months have elapſed. But I would not wiſh you to ſuppoſe that my regard for you has experienced any diminution; but that it has rather encreaſed in proportion as I have more frequently thought of diſcharging this epiſtolary debt. The tardy performance of this duty ſeems to admit of this excuſe that when it is performed after ſo long a lapſe of time it is only a more clear confeſſion that it was due. You are quite right in the ſuppoſition that I ſhall not be ſurpriſed at receiving the ſalutations of a foreigner, and you may be aſſured that it is my maxim, to conſider and to treat no good man as a ſtranger; that you are ſuch I am well perſuaded, both becauſe you are the ſon of a father highly celebrated for his erudition and his piety; and becauſe all good men think you good; and laſtly, becauſe you hate the bad. With ſuch perſons ſince it has alſo been my lot to be at war, Calandrinus very obligingly ſignified to you, that it would be highly grateful to me if you would lend me your aſſiſtance againſt our common enemy. That you have kindly done in your preſent letter, of which I have taken the liberty, without mentioning the author's name, to inſert a part in my Defence. This work I will ſend you as ſoon

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ſoon as poſſible after the publication; in the mean time do you direct your letters to me under cover to Turrettin a Genoeſe, living at London, and through whom we may conveniently carry on our correſpondence. Be aſſured that you rank high in my eſteem, and that I wiſh for nothing more than your regard.

Weſtminſter, March 24, 1654.

## XVIII.

*To* HENRY OLDENBURGH, *Aulic Counſellor to the Senate of Bremen.*

YOUR letters which young Ranley brought, found me ſo much employed that I am compelled to be more brief than I could wiſh. You have moſt faithfully fulfilled thoſe promiſes to write which you made me when you went away. No honeſt man could diſcharge his debts with more rigid punctuality. I congratulate you on your retirement, becauſe it gives pleaſure to you though it is a loſs to me; and I admire that felicity of genius, which can ſo readily leave the factions or the diverſions of the city for contemplations the moſt ſerious and ſublime. I ſee not what advantage you can have in that retirement except in an acceſs to a multitude of books; the aſſociates in ſtudy whom you have found there, were I believe rather made ſtudents by their own natural inclinations, than by the diſcipline of the place. But perhaps I am leſs partial to the place becauſe it detains you, whoſe abſence I regret. You rightly obſerve that there are too many there who pollute all learning, divine and human, by their frivolous ſubtleties and barren diſputations; and who ſeem to do nothing to deſerve the ſalary which they receive. But you are not ſo unwiſe. Thoſe ancient records of the Sineſe from the period of the deluge, which you ſay are promiſed by the Jeſuit Martinius, are no doubt on account

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account of their novelty expected with avidity; but I do not see what authority or support they can add to the books of Moses. Our friend to whom you begged to be remembered sends his compliments. Adieu.

Westminster, June 25, 1656.

## XIX.

*To the noble Youth* RICHARD JONES.

As often as I have taken up the pen to answer your last letter some sudden interruptions have occurred to prevent the completion of my purpose. I afterwards heard that you had made an excursion to the adjoining country. As your excellent mother is on the eve of departing for Ireland, whose loss we have both no small occasion to regret, and who has to me supplied the place of every relative, will herself be the bearer of these letters to you. You may rest assured of my regard, and be persuaded that it will increase in proportion as I see an increasing improvement in your heart and mind. This, by the blessing of God, you have solemnly pledged yourself to accomplish. I am pleased with this fair promise of yourself, which I trust you will never violate. Though you write that you are pleased with Oxford, you will not induce me to believe that Oxford has made you wiser or better. Of that I require very different proof. I would not have you lavish your admiration on the triumphs of the chiefs whom you extol, and things of that nature in which force is of most avail. For why need we wonder if the wethers of our country are born with horns which may batter down cities and towns? Do you learn to estimate great characters, not by the quantity of their animal strength but by the habitual justice and temperance of their conduct. Adieu, and make my best respects to the accomplished Henry Oldenburgh, your college chum.

Westminster, Sept. 21, 1656.

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## XX.

*To the accompliſhed Youth* PETER HEIMBACH.

You have abundantly diſcharged all the promiſes which you made me, except that reſpecting your return which you promiſed ſhould take place at fartheſt within two months. But if my regard for you do not make me err in my calculation, you have been abſent almoſt three months. You have done all that I deſired reſpecting the atlas, of which I wiſhed to know the loweſt price. You ſay it is an hundred and thirty florins, which I think is enough to purchaſe the mountain of that name. But ſuch is the preſent rage for typographical luxury that the furniture of a library hardly coſts leſs than that of a villa. Paintings and engravings are of little uſe to me. While I roll my blind eyes about the world I fear left I ſhould ſeem to lament the privation of ſight in proportion to the exorbitance of the price for which I ſhould have purchaſed the book. Do you endeavour to learn in how many volumes the entire work is contained; and of the two editions, whether that of Blaeu or Janſon be the moſt accurate and complete. This I hope rather to hear verbally from yourſelf on your return, which will ſoon take place, than to trouble you to give me the information by another letter. In the mean time adieu, and return as ſoon as poſſible.

Weſtminſter, Nov. 8, 1656.

## XXI.

*To the accompliſhed* EMERIC BIGOT.

I WAS highly gratified by the diſtinguiſhed marks of attention which you paid me on coming into England,

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England, and this gratification is conſiderably increaſed by your kind epiſtolary inquiries after ſo long an interval. The favourable opinions of others might have prompted your firſt viſit, but you would hardly have taken the trouble to write if you had not been prompted by your own judgement or benevolence. Hence I think I may juſtly congratulate myſelf; many have been celebrated for their compoſitions whoſe common converſation and intercourſe have betrayed no marks of ſublimity or genius. But, as far as is poſſible, I will endeavour to ſeem equal in thought and ſpeech to what I have well written, if I have written any thing well; and while I add to the dignity of what I have written I will, at the ſame time, derive from my writings a greater ſplendour of reputation. Thus I ſhall not ſeem to have borrowed the excellence of my literary compoſitions from others ſo much as to have drawn it pure and unmingled from the reſources of my own mind and the force of my own conceptions. It gives me pleaſure that you are convinced of the tranquillity which I poſſeſs under this afflicting privation of ſight as well as of the civility and kindneſs with which I receive thoſe who viſit me from other countries. And indeed why ſhould I not ſubmit with complacency to this loſs of ſight which ſeems only withdrawn from the body without, to increaſe the ſight of the mind within. Hence books have not incurred my reſentment, nor do I intermit the ſtudy of books, though they have inflicted ſo heavy a penalty on me for my attachment; the example of Telephus king of Micia, who did not refuſe to receive a cure from the ſame weapon by which he had been wounded, admoniſhes me not to be ſo moroſe. With reſpect to the book which you have concerning the mode of holding parliaments, I have taken care to have the paſſages which were marked, either amended, or, if they were doubtful, confirmed by a MS. of the illuſtrious Lord Bradſhaw; and from one of the Cotton MSS. as you will perceive from the paper which I have returned. I ſent ſome one to inquire of the keeper of the Records in the Tower, who is my intimate friend, whether the original of this work be extant in that

collection, and he replied that there was no copy in the repoſitory. I am reciprocally obliged to you for your aſſiſtance in procuring me books. My Byzantine Hiſtory wants Theophanis Chronographia Græc. Lat. fol. Conſtant. Manaſſis Breviarium Hiſtoricum, and Codini Excerpta de Antiquit. C. P. Græc. Lat. fol. Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii Hiſt. and Vitæ Rom. Pontific. fol. to which I beg you to add Michael Glycas and John Sinnam, and the continuator of Anna Comena, if they have already iſſued from the ſame preſs. I need not requeſt you to purchaſe them as cheap as poſſible. There is no occaſion to do this to a man of your diſcretion, and the price of thoſe books is fixed and known to all. Dr. Stuppe has undertook to pay you the money, and to get them conveyed in the moſt commodious way. Accept my beſt wiſhes. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, March 24, 1658.

## XXII.

### *To the noble Youth* RICHARD JONES.

I DID not receive your letter till ſome time after it was written; it lay fifteen days at your mother's. With pleaſure I perceive the emotions of your attachment and your gratitude. I have never ceaſed to promote the culture of your genius, and to juſtify the favourable opinion which your excellent mother entertains of me, and the confidence ſhe places in me, by benevolence the moſt pure and counſels the moſt ſincere. In that agreeable and healthy ſpot, to which you have retired, there are books enough for the purpoſes of academical education. If beauty of ſituation contributed as much to improve the wit of the inhabitants as it does to pleaſe the eye, the felicity of that place would be compleat. The library there is rich in books, but unleſs the minds of the ſtudents be improved by a

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more rational mode of education, it may better deſerve the name of a book-repoſitory than of a library. You juſtly acknowledge that all theſe helps to learning ſhould be aſſociated with a taſte for literature, and with diligence in the cultivation. Take care that I may never have occaſion to blame you for deviating from that opinion. And this you will readily avoid if you will diligently obey the weighty and friendly precepts of the accompliſhed Henry Oldenburg, your aſſociate and friend. Adieu, my deareſt Richard, and let me incite you like another Timothy to the practice of virtue and of piety, by the example of your mother who is the beſt of women.

Weſtminſter.

## XXIII.

*To the illuſtrious Lord* HENRY DE BRAS.

I SEE my Lord that you, unlike moſt of our modern youth who paſs through foreign countries, wiſely travel, like the ancient philoſophers, for the ſake of compleating your juvenile ſtudies, and of picking up knowledge wherever it is to be found. Though as often as I conſider the excellence of what you write you appear to me to have gone among foreigners not ſo much for the ſake of procuring erudition yourſelf, as of imparting it to others, and rather to exchange than to purchaſe a ſtock of literature. I wiſh it were as eaſy for me in every way to promote the increaſe of your knowledge and the improvement of your intellect, as it is pleaſing and flattering to me to have that aſſiſtance requeſted by talents and genius like yours. I have never attempted, and I ſhould never dare to attempt, to ſolve thoſe difficulties as you requeſt, which ſeem to have caſt a cloud over the writers of hiſtory for ſo many ages. Of Salluſt I will ſpeak as you deſire without any heſitation or re-

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ſerve. I prefer him to any of the Latin hiſtorians; which was alſo the general opinion of the ancients. Your favorite Tacitus deſerves his meed of praiſe; but his higheſt praiſe, in my opinion, conſiſts in his having imitated Salluſt with all his might. By my converſation with you on this ſubject I ſeem, as far as I can gueſs from your letter, to have inſpired you with ſentiments very ſimilar to my own, concerning that moſt energetic and animated writer. As he in the beginning of his Catilinarian war aſſerted that there was the greateſt difficulty in hiſtorical compoſition, becauſe the ſtyle ſhould correſpond with the nature of the narrative, you aſk me how a writer of hiſtory may beſt attain that excellence. My opinion is, that he who would deſcribe actions and events in a way ſuited to their dignity and importance, ought to write with a mind endued with a ſpirit, and enlarged by an experience as extenſive as the actors in the ſcene, that he may have a capacity properly to comprehend and to eſtimate the moſt momentous affairs and to relate them, when comprehended, with energy and diſtinctneſs, with purity and perſpicuity of diction. The decorations of ſtyle I do not greatly heed; for I require an hiſtorian and not a rhetorician. I do not want frequent interſperſions of ſentiment, or prolix diſſertations on tranſactions, which interrupt the ſeries of events, and cauſe the hiſtorian to entrench on the office of the politician, who if in explaining counſels, and explaining facts, he follows truth rather than his own partialities and conjectures, excites the diſguſt or the averſion of his party. I will add a remark of Salluſt, and which was one of the excellencies which he himſelf commended in Cato, that he ſhould be able to ſay much in a few words; a perfection which I think that no one can attain without the moſt diſcriminating judgment and a peculiar degree of moderation. There are many in whom you have not to regret either elegance of diction or copiouſneſs of narrative, who have yet united copiouſneſs with brevity. And among theſe Salluſt is in my opinion the chief of the Latin writers. Such are the virtues which I think that every hiſtorian ought to poſſeſs who would proportion

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his ſtyle to the facts which he records. But why do I mention this to you? When ſuch is your genius that you need not my advice, and when ſuch is your proficiency that if it goes on increaſing you will ſoon not be able to conſult any one more learned than yourſelf. To the increaſe of that proficiency, though no exhortations can be neceſſary to ſtimulate your exertions, yet that I may not ſeem entirely to fruſtrate your expectations, I will beſeech you with all my affection, all my authority, and all my zeal, to let nothing relax your diligence, or chill the ardour of your purſuit. Adieu! and may you ever ſucceſsfully labour in the path of wiſdom and of virtue.

Weſtminſter, July 15, 1657.

## XXIV.

### *To* Henry Oldenburg.

I rejoice to hear of your ſafe arrival at Saumur, which is, I believe, the place of your deſtination. You cannot doubt of the pleaſure which this intelligence has given me, when you conſider how much I love your virtues and approve the object of your journey. I had much rather that ſome other perſon had heard in the boat of Charon than you on the waters of the Charent, that ſo infamous a prieſt was called in to inſtruct ſo illuſtrious a church. For I much fear that he will experience the moſt bitter diſappointment who thinks ever to get to Heaven under the auſpices of ſo profligate a guide. Alas! for that church where the miniſters endeavour to pleaſe only the ear; miniſters whom the church, if it deſires a real reformation, ought rather to expel than to chooſe. You have done right, and not only according to my opinion but that of Horace, by not communicating my writings to any but to thoſe who expreſſed a deſire to ſee them.



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Do

Do not my works, importunately rude,
Diſgrace by pert endeavours to intrude.

A learned friend of mine who paſt the laſt ſummer at Saumur, informed me that that book was in great requeſt in thoſe parts. I ſent him only one copy; he wrote back that the peruſal of it had afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to ſome of the learned there. If I had not thought that I ſhould oblige them I ſhould have ſpared this trouble to you and this expence to myſelf.

If my books chance to prove a weary load,
Rather than bear them further leave them on the road.

I have as you deſired me, preſented your kind wiſhes to our friend Lawrence. There is nothing that I wiſh more than that you and your pupil may have your health and return to us ſoon as poſſible after having effected the object of your wiſhes.

Weſtminſter, Aug. 1, 1657.

## XXV.

### *To the noble Youth* Richard Jones.

I rejoice to hear that you accompliſhed ſo long a journey with ſo little inconvenience, and what redounds ſo much to your credit that, deſpiſing the luxuries of Paris, you haſtened with ſo much celerity where you might enjoy the pleaſures of literature and the converſation of the learned. As long as you pleaſe you will there be in a haven of ſecurity; in other places you will have to guard againſt the ſhoals of treachery and the ſyrens' ſongs. I would not wiſh you to thirſt too much after the vintage of Saumur, but reſolve to dilute the Bacchanalian ſtream with more than a fifth part of the Chryſtal liquor of the Parnaſſian fount. But in this reſpect, without my injunctions, you have an excellent preceptor whom you cannot do better than obey; and by obeying whom you will give the higheſt

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ſatisfaction

ſatisfaction to your excellent mother, and daily increaſe in her regard and love. That you may have power to do this you ſhould daily aſk help from above. Adieu, and endeavour to return as much improved as poſſible, both in virtue and erudition. This will give me more than ordinary pleaſure.

Weſtminſter, Aug. 1, 1657.

## XXVI.

*To the illuſtrious Lord* HENRY DE BRAS.

SOME engagements, moſt noble Lord, have prevented me from anſwering your letter ſo ſoon as I could wiſh. I wiſhed to have done it the ſooner becauſe I ſaw that your letter, ſo full of erudition, left me leſs occaſion for ſending you my advice (which I believe that you deſire more out of compliment to me than of any benefit to yourſelf) than my congratulations. Firſt, I congratulate myſelf on having been ſo fortunate in characteriſing the merits of Salluſt as to have excited you to the aſſiduous peruſal of that author, who is ſo full of wiſdom, and who may be read with ſo much advantage. Of him I will venture to aſſert what Quintilian ſaid of Cicero, that he who loves Salluſt is no mean proficient in hiſtorical compoſition. That precept of Ariſtotle in the third book of his rhetoric, which you wiſh me to explain, relates to the morality of the reflections and the fidelity of the narrative. It appears to me to need little comment, except that it ſhould be appropriated not to the compoſitions of rhetoric but of hiſtory. For the offices of a rhetorician and an hiſtorian are as different as the arts which they profeſs. Polybius, Halicarnaſſus, Diodorus, Cicero, Lucian, and many others, whoſe works are interſperſed with precepts on the ſubject, will better teach you what are the duties of an hiſtorian. I wiſh you every ſucceſs in your travels and purſuits. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, Dec. 16, 1657.

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## XXVII.

*To the accomplished* PETER HEINBACH.

I RECEIVED your letter from the Hague the 18th December, which, as your convenience ſeems to require, I anſwer the ſame day on which it was received. In this letter, after returning me thanks for ſome favours which I am not conſcious of having done, but which my regard for you makes me wiſh to have been real, you aſk me to recommend you, through the medium of D. Lawrence, to him who is appointed our agent in Holland. This I grieve that I am not able to do, both on account of my little familiarity with thoſe who have favours to beſtow, ſince I have more pleaſure in keeping myſelf at home, and becauſe I believe that he is already on his voyage, and has in his company a perſon in the office of ſecretary, which you are anxious to obtain. But the bearer of this is on the eve of his departure. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, Dec. 18, 1657.

## XXVIII.

*To* JOHN BADIAUS, *Miniſter of the Church of Orange.*

MOST excellent and reverend ſir, I believe that our friend Durius will take upon himſelf the blame of my not writing to you ſooner. After he had ſhowed me that paper which you wiſhed me to read concerning what I had done and ſuffered for the ſake of the Goſpel, I wrote this letter as ſoon as poſſible, intending to ſend it by the firſt conveyance, ſince I was fearful that you might conſider a longer ſilence as neglect. In the mean-

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time I am under the greateſt obligations to your friend Molin, for procuring me the eſteem of the virtuous in thoſe parts by the zeal of his friendſhip and the warmth of his praiſe; and though I am not ignorant that the conteſt in which I was engaged with ſo great an adverſary, that the celebrity of the ſubject and the ſtyle of the compoſition had far and wide diffuſed my fame, yet I think that I can be famous only in proportion as I enjoy the approbation of the good. I clearly ſee that you are of the ſame opinion; ſo many are the toils you have endured, ſo many are the enemies whom you have provoked by your diſintereſted zeal in defence of the Chriſtian doctrine; and you act with ſo much intrepidity as to ſhow, that inſtead of courting the applauſe of bad men, you do not fear to excite their moſt inveterate hate and their moſt bitter maledictions. Oh happy are you whom, out of ſo many thouſands of the wiſe and learned, providence has reſcued from the very brink of deſtruction, and ſelected to bear a diſtinguiſhed and intrepid teſtimony to the truth of the Goſpel. I have now reaſons for thinking that it was a ſingular mercy that I did not write to you ſooner; for when I underſtood by your letters that, threatened on all ſides by the malice of your enemies, you were looking round for a place of refuge to which you might fly in the laſt extremity of danger, and that you had fixed on England as the object of your wiſhes, I was conſiderably gratified, becauſe it gave me the hope of enjoying your company, and becauſe I was happy to find you think ſo favourably of my country; but I lamented that, particularly owing to your ignorance of our language, I did not ſee any chance of a decent proviſion being made for you among us. The death of an old French miniſter has ſince very opportunely occurred. The principal perſons of his congregation (from whom I have received this communication) anxiouſly wiſh, or rather invite you to be choſen in his place; they have determined to pay the expences of your journey, to provide for you as large a ſalary as any of the French miniſters receive, and to let you want nothing which can contribute to the cheerful diſcharge of your eccleſiaſtical function. Fly, I beſeech you, as ſoon as poſſible, reverend

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verend ſir, to thoſe who are ſo deſirous of ſeeing you, and where you will reap a harveſt, not rich indeed in temporal delights, but in numerous opportunities to improve the hearts and to ſave the ſouls of men; and be aſſured that your arrival is warmly deſired by all good men. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, April 1, 1659.

## XXIX.

### *To* Henry Oldenburg.

The indulgence which you beg for yourſelf, you will rather have to beſtow on me, whoſe turn, if I remember, it was to write. My regard for you has, believe me, ſuffered no diminution; but either my ſtudies or my domeſtic cares, or perhaps my indolence in writing, have made me guilty of this omiſſion of duty. I am, by God's help, as well as uſual. I am not willing, as you wiſh me, to compile a hiſtory of our troubles; for they ſeem rather to require oblivion than commemoration; nor have we ſo much need of a perſon to compoſe a hiſtory of our troubles as happily to ſettle them. I fear with you leſt our civil diſſentions, or rather maniacal agitation, ſhould expoſe us to the attack of the lately confederated enemies of religion and of liberty; but thoſe enemies could not inflict a deeper wound upon religion than we ourſelves have long ſince done by our follies and our crimes. But whatever diſturbances kings and cardinals may meditate and contrive, I truſt that God will not ſuffer the machinations and the violence of our enemies to ſucceed according to their expectations. I pray that the Proteſtant ſynod, which you ſay is ſoon to meet at Leyden, may have a happy termination, which has never yet happened to any ſynod that has ever met before. But the termination of this might be called happy, if it decreed nothing elſe but the expulſion of

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More. As ſoon as my poſthumous adverſary ſhall make his appearance I requeſt you to give me the earlieſt information. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, Dec. 20, 1659.

## XXX.

*To the noble Youth* RICHARD JONES.

You ſend me a moſt modeſt apology for not writing ſooner, when you might more juſtly have accuſed me of the ſame offence; ſo that I hardly know whether I ſhould chooſe that you had not committed the offence or not written the apology. Never for a moment believe that I meaſure your gratitude, if any gratitude be due to me, by the aſſiduity of your epiſtolary communications. I ſhall perceive all the ardour of your gratitude, ſince you will extol the merit of my ſervices, not ſo much in the frequency of your letters as in the excellence of your habits, and the degree of your moral and intellectual proficiency. On the theatre of the world on which you have entered, you have rightly choſen the path of virtue; but know there is a path common to virtue and to vice; and that it behoves you to advance where the way divides. Leaving the common track of pleaſure and amuſement, you ſhould cheerfully encounter the toils and the dangers of that ſteep and rugged way which leads to the pinnacle of virtue. This, believe me, you will accompliſh with more facility ſince you have got a guide of ſo much integrity and ſkill. Adieu.

Weſtminſter, Dec. 20, 1659.



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## XXXI.

*To the accomplished* PETER HEINBACH, *Counsellor to the Elector of Brandenburgh.*

IT is not strange as you write that report should have induced you to believe, that I had perished among the numbers of my countrymen who fell in a year so fatally visited by the ravages of the plague. If that rumour sprung as it seems out of a solicitude for my safety, I consider it as no unpleasing indication of the esteem in which I am held among you. But by the goodness of God, who provided for me a place of refuge in the country, I yet enjoy both life and health; which, as long as they continue, I shall be happy to employ in any useful undertaking. It gives me pleasure to think, that after so long an interval I have again occurred to your remembrance; though, owing to the luxuriance of your praise, you seem almost to lead me to suspect that you had quite forgotten one in whom you say that you admire the union of so many virtues; from such an union I might dread too numerous a progeny if it were not evident that the virtues flourish most in penury and distress. But one of those virtues has made me but an ill return for her hospitable reception in my breast; for what you term policy, and which I wish that you had rather called patriotic piety, has, if I may so say, almost left me, who was charmed with so sweet a sound, without a country. The other virtues harmoniously agree. Our country is wherever we are well off. I will conclude after first begging you if there be any errors in the diction or the punctuation to impute them to the boy who wrote this, who was quite ignorant of Latin, and to whom I was, with no little vexation, obliged to dictate not the words, but, one by one, the

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the letters of which they were compoſed. I rejoice to find that your virtues and talents, of which I ſaw the fair promiſe in your youth, have raiſed you to ſo honourable a ſituation under the prince; and I wiſh you every good which you can enjoy. Adieu.

London, Aug. 15, 1666.

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OF

# REFORMATION IN ENGLAND,

AND THE

## CAUSES THAT HITHERTO HAVE HINDERED IT.

## IN TWO BOOKS.

### *WRITTEN TO A FRIEND.*

SIR,

AMIDST thoſe deep and retired thoughts, which, with every man chriſtianly inſtructed, ought to be moſt frequent of God, and of his miraculous ways and works amongſt men, and of our religion and works, to be performed to him; after the ſtory of our Saviour Chriſt, ſuffering to the loweſt bent of weakneſs in the fleſh, and preſently triumphing to the higheſt pitch of glory in the ſpirit, which drew up his body alſo; till we in both be united to him in the revelation of his kingdom, I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole paſſion of pity on the one ſide, and joy on the other, than to conſider firſt the foul and ſudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long deferred, but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the church in theſe latter days. Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the goſpel, planted by teachers divinely inſpired, and by them winnowed and ſifted from the chaff of overdated ceremonies, and refined to ſuch a ſpiritual height and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumſtances of time and place, were purified by the affections of the regenerate ſoul, and nothing left impure but ſin; faith needing not the weak



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and fallible office of the ſenſes, to be either the uſhers or interpreters of heavenly myſteries, ſave where our Lord himſelf in his ſacraments ordained; that ſuch a doctrine ſhould, through the groſſneſs and blindneſs of her profeſſors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag ſo downwards, as to backſlide one way into the Jewiſh beggary of old caſt rudiments, and ſtumble forward another way into the new-vomited paganiſm of ſenſual idolatry, attributing purity or impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the ſpirit to the outward and cuſtomary eye-ſervice of the body, as if they could make God earthly and fleſhly, becauſe they could not make themſelves heavenly and ſpiritual; they began to draw down all the divine intercourſe betwixt God and the ſoul, yea, the very ſhape of God himſelf, into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a neceſſity and obligement of joining the body in a formal reverence, and worſhip circumſcribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they ſprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantaſtic dreſſes, in palls and mitres, gold, and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the ſlamins veſtry: then was the prieſt ſet to con his motions and his poſtures, his liturgies and his lurries, till the ſoul by this means of overbodying herſelf, given up juſtly to fleſhly delights, bated her wing apace downward: and finding the eaſe ſhe had from her viſible and ſenſuous colleague the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken, and flagging, ſhifted off from herſelf the labour of high ſoaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcaſe to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity. And here out of queſtion from her perverſe conceiting of God and holy things, ſhe had fallen to believe no God at all, had not cuſtom and the worm of conſcience nipped her incredulity: hence to all the duties of evangelical grace, inſtead of the adoptive and cheerful boldneſs which our new alliance with God requires, came ſervile, and thrallike fear: for in very deed, the ſuperſtitious man by his good will is an atheiſt; but being ſcared from thence by the

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pangs and gripes of a boiling conſcience, all in a pudder ſhuffles up to himſelf ſuch a God and ſuch a worſhip as is moſt agreeable to remedy his fear; which fear of his, as alſo is his hope, fixed only upon the fleſh, renders likewiſe the whole faculty of his apprehenſion carnal; and all the inward acts of worſhip, iſſuing from the native ſtrength of the ſoul, run out laviſhly to the upper ſkin, and there harden into a cruſt of formality. Hence men came to ſcan the ſcriptures by the letter, and in the covenant of our redemption, magnified the external ſigns more than the quickening power of the Spirit; and yet looking on them through their own guiltineſs with a ſervile fear, and finding as little comfort, or rather terrour from them again, they knew not how to hide their ſlaviſh approach to God's beheſts by them not underſtood, nor worthily received, but by cloaking their ſervile crouching to all religious preſentments, ſometimes lawful, ſometimes idolatrous, under the name of humility, and terming the piebald frippery and oſtentation of ceremonies, decency.

Then was baptiſm changed into a kind of exorciſm, and water, ſanctified by Chriſt's inſtitute, thought little enough to waſh off the original ſpot, without the ſcratch or croſs impreſſion of a prieſt's forefinger: and that feaſt of free grace and adoption to which Chriſt invited his diſciples to ſit as brethren, and coheirs of the happy covenant, which at that table was to be ſealed to them, even that feaſt of love and heavenly-admitted fellowſhip, the ſeal of filial grace, became the ſubject of horrour, and glouting adoration, pageanted about like a dreadful idol; which ſometimes deceives well-meaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility; which indeed is fleſhly pride, preferring a fooliſh ſacrifice, and the rudiments of the world, as Saint Paul to the Coloſſians explaineth, before a ſavoury obedience to Chriſt's example. Such was Peter's unſeaſonable humility, as then his knowledge was ſmall, when Chriſt came to waſh his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs ſtrain courteſy with his maſter, and falling troubleſomely upon the lowly, all-wiſe, and unexaminable intention of Chriſt, in what he went with reſolution to do, ſo provoked by his

interruption the meek Lord, that he threatened to exclude him from his heavenly portion, unleſs he could be content to be leſs arrogant and ſtiffnecked in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the depravities of the church, and how they ſprung, and how they took increaſe; when I recall to mind at laſt, after ſo many dark ages, wherein the huge overſhadowing train of errour had almoſt ſwept all the ſtars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and bliſsful reformation (by divine power) ſtrook through the black and ſettled night of ignorance and antichriſtian tyranny, methinks a ſovereign and reviving joy muſt needs ruſh into the boſom of him that reads or hears; and the ſweet odour of the returning goſpel imbathe his ſoul with the fragrancy of Heaven. Then was the ſacred Bible ſought out of the duſty corners where profane falſehood and neglect had thrown it, the ſchools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of ſalvation; the martyrs, with the unreſiſtible might of weakneſs, ſhaking the powers of darkneſs, and ſcorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.

The pleaſing purſuit of theſe thoughts hath ofttimes led me into a ſerious queſtion and debatement with myſelf, how it ſhould come to paſs that England (having had this grace and honour from God, to be the firſt that ſhould ſet up a ſtandard for the recovery of loſt truth, and blow the firſt evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of ſaving light to all chriſtendom) ſhould now be laſt, and moſt unſettled in the enjoyment of that peace, whereof ſhe taught the way to others; although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the ſucceeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a ſhort blaze, ſoon damped and ſtifled by the pope and prelates for ſix or ſeven kings reigns; yet methinks the precedency which God gave this iſland, to be firſt reſtorer of buried truth, ſhould have been followed with more happy ſucceſs, and ſooner attained perfection; in which as yet we are amongſt the laſt: for, albeit in purity of doctrine we agree with our brethren; yet in diſcipline, which is the execution and

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applying

applying of doctrine home, and laying the ſalve to the very orifice of the wound, yea, tenting and ſearching to the core, without which pulpit-preaching is but ſhooting at rovers; in this we are no better than a ſchiſm from all the reformation, and a ſore ſcandal to them: for while we hold ordination to belong only to biſhops, as our prelates do, we muſt of neceſſity hold alſo their miniſters to be no miniſters, and ſhortly after their church to be no church. Not to ſpeak of thoſe ſenſeleſs ceremonies which we only retain, as a dangerous earneſt of ſliding back to Rome, and ſerving merely, either as a miſt to cover nakedneſs where true grace is extinguiſhed, or as an interlude to ſet out the pomp of prelatiſm. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to inquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief cauſes have been, that have ſtill hindered our uniform conſent to the reſt of the churches abroad, at this time eſpecially when the kingdom is in a good propenſity thereto; and all men in prayers, in hopes, or in diſputes, either for or againſt it.

Yet I will not inſiſt on that which may ſeem to be the cauſe on God's part; as his judgment on our ſins, the trial of his own, the unmaſking of hypocrites: nor ſhall I ſtay to ſpeak of the continual eagerneſs and extreme diligence of the pope and papiſts to ſtop the furtherance of reformation, which know they have no hold or hope of England their loſt darling, longer than the government of biſhops bolſters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be ſeen by the book of Santa Clara, the popiſh prieſt, in defence of biſhops, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own prelates, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the ſame argument; as if they had joined their forces, like good confederates, to ſupport one falling Babel.

But I ſhall chiefly endeavour to declare thoſe cauſes that hinder the forwarding of true diſcipline, which are among ourſelves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquiry into our forefathers' days, and into our times. Henry VIII was the firſt that rent this kingdom from the pope's ſubjection totally; but his quarrel being more about ſupremacy, than other faultineſs in religion that he regarded,



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it is no marvel if he ſtuck where he did. The next default was in the biſhops, who though they had renounced the pope, they ſtill hugged the popedom, and ſhared the authority among themſelves, by their ſix bloody articles perſecuting the proteſtants no ſlacker than the pope would have done. And doubtleſs, whenever the pope ſhall fall, if his ruin be not like the ſudden downcome of a tower, the biſhops, when they ſee him tottering, will leave him, and fall to ſcrambling, catch who may, he a patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand; as the French cardinal of late and the ſee of Canterbury hath plainly affected.

In Edward the Sixth's days, why a complete reformation was not effected, to any conſiderate man may appear. Firſt, he no ſooner entered into his kingdom, but into a war with Scotland; from whence the protector returning with victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the ſix articles, and throw the images out of churches, but rebellions on all ſides, ſtirred up by obdurate papiſts, and other tumults, with a plain war in Norfolk, holding tack againſt two of the king's generals, made them of force content themſelves with what they had already done. Hereupon followed ambitious contentions among the peers, which ceaſed not but with the protector's death, who was the moſt zealous in this point: and then Northumberland was he that could do moſt in England, who little minding religion, (as his apoſtaſy well ſhowed at his death) bent all his wit how to bring the right of the crown into his own line. And for the biſhops, they were ſo far from any ſuch worthy attempts, as that they ſuffered themſelves to be the common ſtales, to countenance with their proſtituted gravities every politic fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent ſtatiſts pleaſed to employ them. Never do we read that they made uſe of their authority and high place of acceſs, to bring the jarring nobility to chriſtian peace, or to withſtand their diſloyal projects: but if a toleration for maſs were to be begged of the king for his ſiſter Mary, leſt Charles the Fifth ſhould be angry; who but the grave prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, muſt be ſent to extort it from the young king? But out of the mouth of that godly and royal child,

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child, Chriſt himſelf returned ſuch an awful repulſe to thoſe halting and timeſerving prelates, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without ſhame and tears.

Nor was this the firſt time that they diſcovered to be followers of this world; for when the protector's brother, lord Sudley, the admiral, through private malice and malengine was to loſe his life, no man could be found fitter than biſhop Latimer (like another Dr. Shaw) to divulge in his ſermon the forged accuſations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people, who elſe it was thought would take ill the innocent man's death, unleſs the reverend biſhop could warrant them there was no foul play. What could be more impious than to debar the children of the king from their right to the crown? To comply with the ambitious uſurpation of a traitor, and to make void the laſt will of Henry VIII, to which the breakers had ſworn obſervance? Yet biſhop Cranmer, one of the executors, and the other biſhops, none refuſing, (leſt they ſhould reſiſt the duke of Northumberland) could find in their conſciences to ſet their hands to the diſenabling and defeating not only of princeſs Mary the papiſt, but of Elizabeth the proteſtant, and (by the biſhops judgment) the lawful iſſue of king Henry.

Who then can think (though theſe prelates had ſought a further reformation) that the leaſt wry face of a politician would not have huſhed them? But it will be ſaid, theſe men were martyrs: what then? though every true Chriſtian will be a martyr when he is called to it; not preſently does it follow, that every one ſuffering for religion is, without exception. Saint Paul writes, that "a man may give his body to be burnt, (meaning for religion) and yet not have charity:" he is not therefore above all poſſibility of erring, becauſe he burns for ſome points of truth.

Witneſs the * Arians and Pelagians, which were ſlain by the heathen for Chriſt's ſake, yet we take both theſe

* It appears from this and other paſſages, that the author in his younger years was orthodox, as it is called: but he afterwards altered his ſentiments; as is plain from his tract on "True Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, and Toleration," which was the laſt work he publiſhed.



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for no true friends of Chriſt. If the martyrs (ſaith Cyprian in his 30th epiſtle) decree one thing, and the goſpel another, either the martyrs muſt loſe their crown by not obſerving the goſpel for which they are martyrs, or the majeſty of the goſpel muſt be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopped by the novelty of any other decree.

And here withal I invoke the Immortal Deity, revealer and judge of ſecrets, that wherever I have in this book plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemiſhes of fathers, martyrs, or chriſtian emperors, or have otherwiſe inveighed againſt errour and ſuperſtition with vehement expreſſions; I have done it neither out of malice, nor liſt to ſpeak evil, nor any vain glory, but of mere neceſſity to vindicate the ſpotleſs truth from an ignominious bondage, whoſe native worth is now become of ſuch a low eſteem, that ſhe is like to find ſmall credit with us for what ſhe can ſay, unleſs ſhe can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; or prove herſelf a retainer to Conſtantine, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all theſe names were utterly aboliſhed like the brazen ſerpent, than that men's fond opinion ſhould thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatſoever the biſhops were, it ſeems they themſelves were unſatisfied in matters of religion as they then ſtood, by that commiſſion granted to eight biſhops, eight other divines, eight civilians, eight common lawyers, to frame eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions; which no wonder if it came to nothing, for (as Hayward relates) both their profeſſions and their ends were different. Laſtly, we all know by example, that exact reformation is not perfected at the firſt puſh, and thoſe unwieldy times of Edward VI may hold ſome plea by this excuſe. Now let any reaſonable man judge whether that king's reign be a fit time from whence to pattern out the conſtitution of a church diſcipline, much leſs that it ſhould yield occaſion from whence to foſter and eſtabliſh the continuance of imperfection, with the commendatory ſubſcriptions of confeſſors and martyrs, to entitle and engage a glorious name to a groſs corruption. It was not epiſcopacy that wrought in them the heavenly fortitude

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of martyrdom, as little is it that martyrdom can make good epiſcopacy; but it was epiſcopacy that led the good and holy men, through the temptation of the enemy, and the ſnare of this preſent world, to many blameworthy and opprobrious actions. And it is ſtill epiſcopacy that before all our eyes worſens and ſlugs the moſt learned, and ſeeming religious of our miniſters, who no ſooner advanced to it, but like a ſeething pot ſet to cool, ſenſibly exhale and reak out the greateſt part of that zeal, and thoſe gifts which were formerly in them, ſettling in a ſkinny congealment of eaſe and ſloth at the top: and if they keep their learning by ſome potent ſway of nature, it is a rare chance; but their devotion moſt commonly comes to that queazy temper of lukewarmneſs, that gives a vomit to God himſelf.

But what do we ſuffer miſhapen and enormous prelatiſm, as we do, thus to blanch and varniſh her deformities with the fair colours, as before of martyrdom, ſo now of epiſcopacy? They are not biſhops, God and all good men know they are not, that have filled this land with late confuſion and violence, but a tyrannical crew and corporation of impoſtors, that have blinded and abuſed the world ſo long under that name. He that, enabled with gifts from God, and the lawful and primitive choice of the church aſſembled in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his parochial flock, has his coequal and compreſbyterial power to ordain miniſters and deacons by public prayer, and vote of Chriſt's congregation in like ſort as he himſelf was ordained, and is a true apoſtolic biſhop. But when he ſteps up into the chair of pontifical pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary houſe for a miſgoverned and haughty palace, ſpiritual dignity for carnal precedence, and ſecular high office and employment for the high negotiations of his heavenly embaſſage: then he degrades, then he unbiſhops himſelf; he that makes him biſhop, makes him no biſhop. No marvel therefore if St. Martin complained to Sulpitius Severus, that ſince he was biſhop he felt inwardly a ſenſible decay of thoſe virtues and graces that God had given him in great meaſure before; although the ſame Sulpitius write that he

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was nothing tainted or altered in his habit, diet, or perſonal demeanour from that ſimple plainneſs to which he firſt betook himſelf. It was not therefore that thing alone which God took diſpleaſure at in the biſhops of thoſe times, but rather an univerſal rottenneſs and gangrene in the whole function.

From hence then I paſs to queen Elizabeth, the next proteſtant prince, in whoſe days why religion attained not a perfect reducement in the beginning of her reign, I ſuppoſe the hindering cauſes will be found to be common with ſome formerly alleged for King Edward VI; the greenneſs of the times, the weak eſtate which queen Mary left the realm in, the great places and offices executed by papiſts, the judges, the lawyers, the juſtices of peace for the moſt part popiſh, the biſhops firm to Rome; from whence was to be expected the furious flaſhing of excommunications, and abſolving the people from their obedience. Next, her private counſellors, whoever they were, perſuaded her (as Camden writes) that the altering of eccleſiaſtical policy would move ſedition. Then was the liturgy given to a number of moderate divines, and ſir Thomas Smith a ſtateſman, to be purged and phyſicked: and ſurely they were moderate divines indeed, neither hot nor cold; and Grindal the beſt of them, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, loſt favour in the court, and I think was diſcharged the government of his ſee, for favouring the miniſters, though Camden ſeem willing to find another cauſe: therefore about her ſecond year, in a parliament, of men and minds ſome ſcarce well grounded, others belching the four crudities of yeſterday's popery, thoſe conſtitutions of Edward VI, which as you heard before no way ſatisfied the men that made them, are now eſtabliſhed for beſt, and not to be mended. From that time followed nothing but impriſonments, troubles, diſgraces on all thoſe that found fault with the decrees of the convocation, and ſtraight were they branded with the name of puritans. As for the queen herſelf, ſhe was made believe that by putting down biſhops her prerogative would be infringed, of which ſhall be ſpoken anon as the courſe of method brings it in: and why the prelates laboured it

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ſhould be ſo thought, aſk not them, but aſk their bellies. They had found a good tabernacle, they ſate under a ſpreading vine, their lot was fallen in a fair inheritance. And theſe perhaps were the chief impeachments of a more ſound rectifying the church in the queen's time.

From this period I count to begin our times, which becauſe they concern us more nearly, and our own eyes and ears can give us the ampler ſcope to judge, will require a more exact ſearch; and to effect this the ſpeedier, I ſhall diſtinguiſh ſuch as I eſteem to be the hinderers of reformation into three ſorts, Antiquitarians (for ſo I had rather call them than antiquaries, whoſe labours are uſeful and laudable). 2. Libertines. 3. Politicians.

To the votariſts of antiquity I ſhall think to have fully anſwered, if I ſhall be able to prove out of antiquity, Firſt, that if they will conform our biſhops to the purer times, they muſt mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curtailed biſhops of them; and we know they hate to be docked and clipped, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that thoſe purer times were corrupt, and their books corrupted ſoon after. Thirdly, that the beſt of thoſe that then wrote diſclaim that any man ſhould repoſe on them, and ſend all to the ſcriptures.

Firſt therefore, if thoſe that overaffect antiquity will follow the ſquare thereof, their biſhops muſt be elected by the hands of the whole church. The ancienteſt of the extant fathers, Ignatius, writing to the Philadelphians, ſaith, "that it belongs to them as to the church of God "to chooſe a biſhop." Let no man cavil, but take the church of God as meaning the whole conſiſtence of orders and members, as St. Paul's epiſtles expreſs, and this likewiſe being read over: beſides this, it is there to be marked, that thoſe Philadelphians are exhorted to chooſe a biſhop of Antioch. Whence it ſeems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of dioceſe in thoſe times, which is confirmed even by a faſt friend of epiſcopacy, Camden, who cannot but love biſhops as well as old coins, and his much lamented monaſteries, for antiquity's ſake. He writes in his deſcription of Scotland, "That over all the world biſhops had no certain dioceſe

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dioceſe till pope Dionyſius about the year 268 did cut them out; and that the biſhops of Scotland executed their function in what place ſoever they came indifferently, and without diſtinction, till king Malcolm the third, about the year 1070." Whence may be gueſſed what their function was: was it to go about circled with a band of rooking officials, with cloakbags full of citations, and proceſſes to be ſerved by a corporality of griffonlike promoters and apparitors? Did he go about to pitch down his court, as an empiric does his bank, to inveigle in all the money of the country? No certainly it would not have been permitted him to exerciſe any ſuch function indifferently wherever he came. And verily ſome ſuch matter it was as want of a fat dioceſe that kept our Britain biſhops ſo poor in the primitive times, that being called to the council of Ariminum in the year 359, they had not wherewithal to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed and lodged upon the Emperor's coſt; which muſt needs be no accidental but uſual poverty in them: for the author, Sulpitius Severus, in his 2d book of Church-Hiſtory praiſes them, and avouches it praiſeworthy in a biſhop to be ſo poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of biſhops, that it could not lawfully be without the conſent of the people is ſo expreſs in Cyprian, and ſo often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to tranſlate a good part of the volume; therefore touching the chief paſſages, I refer the reſt to whom ſo liſt peruſe the author himſelf: in the 24th epiſtle: "If a biſhop," ſaith he, "be once made and allowed by the teſtimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people, no other can be made." In the 55th, "When a biſhip is made by the ſuffrage of all the people in peace." In the 68th mark but what he ſays; "The people chiefly hath power either of chooſing worthy ones, or refuſing unworthy:" this he there proves by authorities out of the Old and New Teſtament, and with ſolid reaſons: theſe were his antiquities.

This voice of the people, to be had ever in epiſcopal elections, was ſo well known before Cyprian's time, even to thoſe that were without the church, that the emperor Alexander

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Alexander Severus desired to have his governors of provinces chosen in the same manner, as Lampridius can tell; so little thought it he offensive to monarchy. And if single authorities persuade not, hearken what the whole general council of Nicæa, the first and famousest of all the rest, determines, writing a synodical epistle to the African churches, to warn them of Arianism; it exhorts them to choose orthodox bishops in the place of the dead, so they be worthy, and the people choose them; whereby they seem to make the people's assent so necessary, that merit, without their free choice, were not sufficient to make a bishop. What would ye say now, grave fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy bishops, or rather no bishops, but Egyptian taskmasters of ceremonies thrust purposely upon the groaning church, to the affliction and vexation of God's people? It was not of old that a conspiracy of bishops could frustrate and fob off the right of the people; for we may read how St. Martin, soon after Constantine, was made bishop of Turon in France, by the people's consent from all places thereabout, maugre all the opposition that the bishops could make. Thus went matters of the church almost 400 years after Christ, and very probably far lower: for Nicephorus Phocas the Greek emperor, whose reign fell near the 1000 year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by Cedrenus to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, than to have enacted that no bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions. Now for episcopal dignity, what it was, see out of Ignatius, who in his epistle to those of Trallis, confesseth, "That the presbyters are his fellow-counsellors and fellow-benchers." And Cyprian in many places, as in the 6, 41, 52, epistles, speaking of presbyters, calls them his compresbyters, as if he deemed himself no other, whenas by the same place it appears he was a bishop; he calls them brethren, but that will be thought his meekness: yea, but the presbyters and deacons writing to him think they do him honour enough, when they phrase him no higher than brother Cyprian, and dear Cyprian in the 26 epistle,

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For their authority it is evident not to have been ſingle, but depending on the counſel of the preſbyters, as from Ignatius was erewhile alleged; and the ſame Cyprian acknowledges as much in the 6 epiſtle, and adds thereto, that he had determined, from his entrance into the office of biſhop, to do nothing without the conſent of his people, and ſo in the 31 epiſtle, for it were tedious to courſe through all his writings, which are ſo full of the like aſſertions, inſomuch that even in the womb and centre of apoſtaſy, Rome itſelf, there yet remains a glimpſe of this truth; for the pope himſelf, as a learned Engliſh writer notes well, performeth all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction as in conſiſtory among his cardinals, which were originally but the pariſh prieſts of Rome. Thus then did the ſpirit of unity and meekneſs inſpire and animate every joint and ſinew of the myſtical body; but now the graveſt and worthieſt miniſter, a true biſhop of his fold, ſhall be reviled and ruffled by an inſulting and only canon-wiſe prelate, as if he were ſome ſlight paltry companion: and the people of God, redeemed and waſhed with Chriſt's blood, and dignified with ſo many glorious titles of ſaints, and ſons in the goſpel, are now no better reputed than impure ethnics and lay dogs; ſtones, and pillars, and crucifixes, have now the honour and the alms due to Chriſt's living members; the table of communion, now become a table of ſeparation, ſtands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the quire, fortified with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the laics, whilſt the obſcene and ſurfeited prieſt ſcruples not to paw and mammoc the ſacramental bread, as familiarly as his tavern biſcuit. And thus the people, vilified and rejected by them, give over the earneſt ſtudy of virtue and godlineſs, as a thing of greater purity than they need, and the ſearch of divine knowledge as a myſtery too high for their capacities, and only for churchmen to meddle with; which is what the prelates deſire, that when they have brought us back to popiſh blindneſs, we might commit to their diſpoſe the whole managing of our ſalvation, for they think it was never fair world with them ſince that time. But he that will mould a modern biſhop into a primitive, muſt yield him to be elected

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elected by the popular voice, undiocesed, unrevenued, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchless temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer and preaching, continual watchings and labours in his ministry; which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping-mouth of a prelate, what a relish it would give to his canary-sucking, and swan-eating palate, let old bishop Mountain judge for me.

How little therefore those ancient times make for modern bishops, hath been plainly discoursed; but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not to stand to their arbitrement, shall now appear by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times foully tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, Ignatius in his early days testifies to the churches of Asia, that even then heresies were sprung up, and rife every where, as Eusebius relates in his 3 book, 36 chap. after the Greek number. And Hegesippus, a grave church writer of prime antiquity, affirms in the same book of Eusebius, c. 32: "That while the apostles were on earth, the depravers of doctrine did but lurk; but they once gone, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities." Yea, those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the church about the trivial celebration of feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter-day; which controversy grew so hot, that Victor the bishop of Rome excommunicated all the churches of Asia for no other cause, and was worthily thereof reproved by Irenæus. For can any sound theologer think, that these great fathers understood what was gospel, or what was excommunication? Doubtless that which led the good men into fraud and errour was, that they attended more to the near tradition of what they heard the apostles sometimes did, than to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did were by the apostles themselves professed to be done only for the present, and of mere indulgence

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dulgence to ſome ſcrupulous converts of the circumciſion, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1 cap. of Euſebius 8 book. What a univerſal tetter of impurity had envenomed every part, order, and degree of the church, to omit the lay herd, which will be little regarded, "thoſe that ſeem to be our paſtors," ſaith he, "overturning the law of God's worſhip, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increaſing in hatred and bitterneſs, outrageouſly ſought to uphold lordſhip, and command as it were a tyranny." Stay but a little, magnanimous biſhops, ſuppreſs your aſpiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but Conſtantine to reign, and then tyranny herſelf ſhall give up all her citadels into your hands, and count ye thenceforward her truſtieſt agents. Such were theſe that muſt be called the ancienteſt and moſt virgin times between Chriſt and Conſtantine. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errours, the ridiculous wreſting of ſcripture, the hereſies, the vanities thick ſown through the volumes of Juſtin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian, and others of eldeſt time? Who would think him fit to write an apology for Chriſtian faith to the Roman ſenate, that would tell them "how of the angels," which he muſt needs mean thoſe in Geneſis called the ſons of God, "mixing with women were begotten the devils," as good Juſtin Martyr in his Apology told them? But more indignation would it move to any Chriſtian that ſhall read Tertullian, terming St. Paul a novice, and raw in grace, for reproving St. Peter at Antioch, worthy to be blamed if we believe the epiſtle to the Galatians: perhaps from this hint the blaſphemous Jeſuits preſumed in Italy to give their judgment of St. Paul, as of a hotheaded perſon, as Sandys in his relations tells us.

Now beſides all this, who knows not how many ſuperſtitious works are ingraffed into the legitimate writings of the fathers? And of thoſe books that paſs for authentic, who knows what hath been tampered withal, what hath been razed out, what hath been inſerted? Beſides the late legerdemain of the papiſts, that which Sulpitius

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writes concerning Origen's books, gives us cauſe vehemently to ſuſpect, there hath been packing of old. In the third chap. of his 1ſt Dialogue we may read what wrangling the biſhops and monks had about the reading or not reading of Origen; ſome objecting that he was corrupted by heretics, others anſwering that all ſuch books had been ſo dealt with. How then ſhall I truſt theſe times to lead me, that teſtify ſo ill of leading themſelves? Certainly of their defects their own witneſs may be beſt received, but of the rectitude and ſincerity of their life and doctrine, to judge rightly, we muſt judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unſettled ſtate of the church, wanting the temporal magiſtrate to ſuppreſs the licence of falſe brethren, and the extravagancy of ſtill new opinions; a time not imitable for church-government, where the temporal and ſpiritual power did not cloſe in one belief, as under Conſtantine. I am not of opinion to think the church a vine in this reſpect, becauſe, as they take it, ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without claſping about the elm of worldly ſtrength and felicity, as if the heavenly city could not ſupport itſelf without the props and buttreſſes of ſecular authority. They extol Conſtantine becauſe he extolled them; as our homebred monks in their hiſtories blanch the kings their benefactors, and brand thoſe that went about to be their correctors. If he had curbed the growing pride, avarice, and luxury of the clergy, then every page of his ſtory ſhould have ſwelled with his faults, and that which Zozimus the heathen writes of him ſhould have come in to boot: we ſhould have heard then in every declamation how he ſlew his nephew Commodus, a worthy man, his noble and eldeſt ſon Criſpus, his wife Fauſta, beſides numbers of his friends; then his cruel exactions, his unſoundneſs in religion, favouring the Arians that had been condemned in a council, of which himſelf ſat as it were preſident; his hard meaſure and baniſhment of the faithful and invincible Athanaſius; his living unbaptized almoſt to his dying day; theſe blurs are too apparent in his life. But ſince he muſt needs be the loadſtar of reformation, as ſome men clatter, it will be good to ſee further his knowledge of religion what it was, and



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by that we may likewiſe gueſs at the ſincerity of his times in thoſe that were not heretical, it being likely that he would converſe with the famouſeſt prelates (for ſo he had made them) that were to be found for learning.

Of his Arianiſm we heard, and for the reſt, a pretty ſcantling of his knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptized ſo many years, a thing not uſual, and repugnant to the tenour of ſcripture; Philip knowing nothing that ſhould hinder the eunuch to be baptized after profeſſion of his belief. Next, by the exceſſive devotion, that I may not ſay ſuperſtition, both of him and his mother Helena, to find out the croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, that had long lain under the rubbiſh of old ruins; (a thing which the diſciples and kindred of our Saviour might with more eaſe have done, if they had thought it a pious duty;) ſome of the nails whereof he put into his helmet, to bear off blows in battle, others he faſtened among the ſtuds of his bridle, to fulfil (as he thought, or his court biſhops perſuaded him) the prophecy of Zechariah; "And it ſhall be that which is in the bridle ſhall be holy to the Lord." Part of the croſs, in which he thought ſuch virtue to reſide, as would prove a kind of Palladium to ſave the city wherever it remained, he cauſed to be laid up in a pillar of porphyry by his ſtatue. How he or his teachers could trifle thus with half an eye open upon St. Paul's principles, I know not how to imagine.

How ſhould then the dim taper of this emperor's age, that had ſuch need of ſnuffing, extend any beam to our times, wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, than by thoſe luminaries that God hath ſet up to ſhine to us far nearer hand. And what reformation he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiſs to conſider; he appointed certain times for faſts and feaſts, built ſtately churches, gave large immunities to the clergy, great riches and promotions to biſhops, gave and miniſtered occaſion to bring in a deluge of ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the heathen by a reſemblance of their rites, or to ſet a gloſs upon the ſimplicity and plainneſs of chriſtianity; which, to the gorgeous ſolemnities of paganiſm, and the ſenſe of the

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the world's children, ſeemed but a homely and yeomanly religion; for the beauty of inward ſanctity was not within their proſpect.

So that in this manner the prelates, both then and ever ſince, coming from a mean and plebeian life on a ſudden to be lords of ſtately palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and princely attendance, thought the plain and home-ſpun verity of Chriſt's goſpel unfit any longer to hold their lordſhips' acquaintance, unleſs the poor threadbare matron were put into better clothes: her chaſte and modeſt vail, ſurrounded with celeſtial beams, they overlaid with wanton treſſes, and in a flaring tire beſpeckled her with all the gaudy allurements of a whore.

Thus flouriſhed the church with Conſtantine's wealth, and thereafter were the effects that followed; his ſon Conſtantius proved a flat Arian, and his nephew Julian an apoſtate, and there his race ended: the church that before by inſenſible degrees welked and impaired, now with large ſteps went down hill decaying: at this time Antichriſt began firſt to put forth his horn, and that ſaying was common, that former times had wooden chalices and golden prieſts; but they, golden chalices and wooden prieſts. "Formerly," ſaith Sulpitius, "martyrdom by glorious death was ſought more greedily than now biſhoprics by vile ambition are hunted after," ſpeaking of theſe times: and in another place, "they gape after poſſeſſions, they tend lands and livings, they cower over their gold, they buy and ſell: and if there be any that neither poſſeſs nor traffic, that which is worſe, they ſit ſtill, and expect gifts, and proſtitute every endowment of grace, every holy thing, to ſale." And in the end of his hiſtory thus he concludes: "All things went to wrack by the faction, wilfulneſs, and avarice of the biſhops; and by this means God's people, and every good man, was had in ſcorn and deriſion;" which St. Martin found truly to be ſaid by his friend Sulpitius; for, being held in admiration of all men, he had only the biſhops his enemies, found God leſs favourable to him after he was biſhop than before, and for his laſt ſixteen years would come at no biſhop's meeting. Thus you ſee, ſir, what Conſtantine's doings in the church brought forth, either in his own or in his ſon's reign.

Now, leſt it ſhould be thought that ſomething elſe

might ail this author thus to hamper the biſhops of thoſe days, I will bring you the opinion of three the famouſeſt men for wit and learning that Italy at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a received opinion, even among men profeſſing the Romiſh faith, that Conſtantine marred all in the church. Dante, in his 19th Canto of Inferno, hath thus, as I will render it you in Engliſh blank verſe:

> Ah Conſtantine! of how much ill was cauſe
> Not thy converſion, but thoſe rich domains
> That the firſt wealthy pope receiv'd of thee!

So, in his 20th Canto of Paradiſe, he makes the like complaint, and Petrarch ſeconds him in the ſame mind in his 108th ſonnet, which is wiped out by the inquiſitor in ſome editions; ſpeaking of the Roman Antichriſt as merely bred up by Conſtantine.

> Founded in chaſte and humble poverty,
> 'Gainſt them that rais'd thee doſt thou liſt thy horn,
> Impudent whore, where haſt thou plac'd thy hope?
> In thy adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth?
> Another Conſtantine comes not in haſte.

Arioſto of Ferrara, after both theſe in time, but equal in fame, following the ſcope of his poem in a difficult knot how to reſtore Orlando his chief hero to his loſt ſenſes, brings Aſtolfo the Engliſh knight up into the moon, where St. John, as he feigns, met him. Cant. 34.

> And to be ſhort, at laſt his guide him brings
> Into a goodly valley, where he ſees
> A mighty maſs of things ſtrangely confus'd,
> Things that on earth were loſt, or were abus'd.

And amongſt theſe ſo abuſed things, liſten what he met withal, under the conduct of the Evangeliſt.

> Then paſs'd he to a flowery mountain green,
> Which once ſmelt ſweet, now ſtinks as odiouſly:
> This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
> That Conſtantine to good Sylveſtro gave.

And this was a truth well known in England before this poet was born, as our Chaucer's Ploughman ſhall tell you

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you by and by upon another occaſion. By all theſe circumſtances laid together, I do not ſee how it can be diſputed what good this emperor Conſtantine wrought to the church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, ſet open a door to more miſchief in Chriſtendom. There is juſt cauſe therefore, that when the prelates cry out, Let the church be reformed according to Conſtantine, it ſhould ſound to a judicious ear no otherwiſe, than if they ſhould ſay, Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawleſs; for if any under him were not ſo, thanks to thoſe ancient remains of integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his government.

Thus finally it appears, that thoſe purer times were not ſuch as they are cried up, and not to be followed without ſuſpicion, doubt, and danger. The laſt point wherein the antiquary is to be dealt with at his own weapon, is, to make it manifeſt that the ancienteſt and beſt of the fathers have diſclaimed all ſufficiency in themſelves that men ſhould rely on, and ſent all comers to the ſcriptures, as allſufficient: that this is true, will not be unduly gathered, by ſhowing what eſteem they had of antiquity themſelves, and what validity they thought in it to prove doctrine or diſcipline. I muſt of neceſſity begin from the ſecond rank of fathers, becauſe till then antiquity could have no plea. Cyprian in his 63d Epiſtle: "If any," ſaith he, "of our anceſtors, either ignorantly, or out of ſimplicity, hath not obſerved that which the Lord taught us by his example," ſpeaking of the Lord's ſupper, "his ſimplicity God may pardon of his mercy; but we cannot be excuſed for following him, being inſtructed by the Lord." And have not we the ſame inſtructions; and will not this holy man, with all the whole conſiſtory of ſaints and martyrs that lived of old, riſe up and ſtop our mouths in judgment, when we ſhall go about to father our errours and opinions upon their authority? In the 73d Epiſt. he adds, "In vain do they oppoſe cuſtom to us, if they be overcome by reaſon; as if cuſtom were greater than truth, or that in ſpiritual things that were not to be followed, which is revealed for the better by the Holy Ghoſt." In the 74th, "Neither ought cuſtom to



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hinder that truth ſhould not prevail; for cuſtom without truth is but agedneſs of errour."

Next Lactantius, he that was preferred to have the bringing up of Conſtantine's children, in his ſecond book of Inſtitutions, chap. 7 and 8, diſputes againſt the vain truſt in antiquity, as being the chiefeſt argument of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians: "They do not conſider," ſaith he, "what religion is, but they are confident it is true, becauſe the ancients delivered it; they count it a treſpaſs to examine it." And in the eighth: "Not becauſe they went before us in time, therefore in wiſdom; which being given alike to all ages, cannot be prepoſſeſſed by the ancients: wherefore, ſeeing that to ſeek the truth is inbred to all, they bereave themſelves of wiſdom, the gift of God, who without judgment follow the ancients, and are led by others like brute beaſts." St. Auſtin writes to Fortunatian, that "he counts it lawful, in the books of whomſoever, to reject that which he finds otherwiſe than true; and ſo he would have others deal by him." He neither accounted, as it ſeems, thoſe fathers that went before, nor himſelf, nor others of his rank, for men of more than ordinary ſpirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceived: and ofttimes ſetting our ſervile humours aſide, yea, God ſo ordering, we may find truth with one man, as ſoon as in a council, as Cyprian agrees, 71ſt Epiſt. "Many things," ſaith he, "are better revealed to ſingle perſons." At Nicæa, in the firſt and beſt-reputed council of all the world, there had gone out a canon to divorce married prieſts, had not one old man, Paphnutius, ſtood up, and reaſoned againſt it.

Now remains it to ſhow clearly that the fathers refer all deciſion of controverſy to the ſcriptures, as allſufficient to direct, to reſolve, and to determine. Ignatius, taking his laſt leave of the Aſian churches, as he went to martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere cloſe to the written doctrine of the apoſtles, neceſſarily written for poſterity: ſo far was he from unwritten traditions, as may be read in the 36th chap. of Euſebius, 3 b. In the 74th Epiſt. of Cyprian againſt Stefan, biſhop of Rome, impoſing upon him a tradition; "Whence," quoth he, "is this tradition? Is it fetched from the

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the authority of Chriſt in the goſpel, or of the apoſtles in their epiſtles? for God teſtifies that thoſe things are to be done which are written." And then thus, "What obſtinacy, what preſumption is this, to prefer human tradition before divine ordinance?" And in the ſame epiſt. if we ſhall return to the head, and beginning of divine tradition, (which we all know he means the Bible) human errour ceaſes; and the reaſon of heavenly myſteries unfolded, whatſoever was obſcure becomes clear." And in the 14th diſtinct. of the ſame epiſt. directly againſt our modern fantaſies of a ſtill viſible church, he teaches, "that ſucceſſion of truth may fail; to renew which, we muſt have recourſe to the fountains;" uſing this excellent ſimilitude, "if a channel, or conduitpipe which brought in water plentifully before, ſuddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain to know the cauſe, whether the ſpring affords no more, or whether the vein be ſtopped, or turned aſide in the midcourſe? Thus ought we to do, keeping God's precepts, that if in aught the truth ſhall be changed, we may repair to the goſpel and to the apoſtles, that thence may ariſe the reaſon of our doings, from whence our order and beginning aroſe." In the 75th he inveighs bitterly againſt pope Stephanus, "for that he could boaſt his ſucceſſion from Peter, and yet foiſt in traditions that were not apoſtolical." And in his book of the unity of the church, he compares thoſe that, neglecting God's word, follow the doctrines of men, to Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. The very firſt page of Athanaſius againſt the gentiles, avers the ſcriptures to be ſufficient of themſelves for the declaration of truth; and that if his friend Macarius read other religious writers, it was but φιλοκάλος come un vertuoſo, (as the Italians ſay,) as a lover of elegance: and in his ſecond tome, the 30th page, after he hath reckoned up the canonical books, "in theſe only," ſaith he, "is the doctrine of godlineſs taught; let no man add to theſe, or take from theſe." And in his Synopſis, having again ſet down all the writers of the Old and New Teſtament, "theſe," ſaith he, "be the anchors and props of our faith." Beſides theſe, millions of other books have been written by great and wiſe men according to rule, and agreement with theſe, of which I will not now ſpeak,



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as being of infinite number, and mere dependance on the canonical books. Basil, in his 2d tome, writing of true faith, tells his auditors, he is bound to teach them that which he hath learned out of the Bible: and in the same treatise he saith, "that seeing the commandments of the Lord are faithful, and sure for ever, it is a plain falling from the faith, and a high pride, either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found:" and he gives the reason, "for Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice, they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his voice." But not to be endless in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the fathers which have no ground in scripture; so much the less, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us that lean not on them; otherwise these their words will acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be replied, the scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the explanation of the fathers. It is true, there be some books, and especially some places in those books, that remain clouded; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known is most easy; and that which is most difficult, so far expounds itself ever, as to tell us how little it imports our saving knowledge. Hence, to infer a general obscurity over all the text, is a mere suggestion of the devil to dissuade men from reading it, and casts an aspersion of dishonour both upon the mercy, truth, and wisdom of God. We count it no gentleness, or fair dealing in a man of power amongst us, to require strict and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obscure, we should think he had a plot upon us; certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of truth is plainness and brightness, the darkness and crookedness is our own. The wisdom of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to truth, the object and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisterings, what is that to truth? If we will but purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would

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would believe the ſcriptures proteſting their own plainneſs and perſpicuity, calling to them to be inſtructed, not only the wiſe and learned, but the ſimple, the poor, the babes, foretelling an extraordinary effuſion of God's ſpirit upon every age and ſex, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of ſearching, trying, examining all things, and by the ſpirit diſcerning that which is good; and as the ſcriptures themſelves pronounce their own plainneſs, ſo do the fathers teſtify of them.

I will not run into a paroxyſm of citations again in this point, only inſtance Athanaſius in his forementioned firſt page: "The knowledge of truth," ſaith he, "wants no human lore, as being evident in itſelf, and by the preaching of Chriſt now opens brighter than the ſun." If theſe doctors, who had ſcarce half the light that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and ſuſpectful tranſlations of the apoſtate Aquila, the heretical Theodotion, the judaized Symmachus, the erroneous Origen; if theſe could yet find the Bible ſo eaſy, why ſhould we doubt, that have all the helps of learning, and faithful induſtry that man in this life can look for, and the aſſiſtance of God as near now to us as ever? But let the ſcriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abſtruſe than the fathers? He that cannot underſtand the ſober, plain, and unaffected ſtyle of the ſcriptures, will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africaniſms, the pampered metaphors, the intricate and involved ſentences of the fathers, beſides the fantaſtic and declamatory flaſhes, the croſs-jingling periods which cannot but diſturb, and come thwart a ſettled devotion, worſe than the din of bells and rattles.

Now, ſir, for the love of holy Reformation, what can be ſaid more againſt theſe importunate clients of antiquity than ſhe herſelf their patroneſs hath ſaid? Whether, think ye, would ſhe approve ſtill to doat upon immeaſurable, innumerable, and therefore unneceſſary and unmerciful volumes, chooſing rather to err with the ſpecious name of the fathers, or to take a ſound truth at the hand of a plain upright man, that all his days hath been diligently reading the holy ſcriptures,

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ſcriptures, and thereto imploring God's grace, while the admirers of antiquity have been beating their brains about their ambones, their dyptichs, and meniaias? Now, he that cannot tell of ſtations and indictions, nor has waſted his precious hours in the endleſs conferring of councils and conclaves that demoliſh one another, (although I know many of thoſe that pretend to be great rabbies in theſe ſtudies, have ſcarce ſaluted them from the ſtrings, and the titlepage; or to give them more, have been but the ferrets and mouſehunts of an index:) yet what paſtor or miniſter, how learned, religious, or diſcrete ſoever, does not now bring both his cheeks full blown with œcumenical and ſynodical, ſhall be counted a lank, ſhallow, inſufficient man, yea a dunce, and not worthy to ſpeak about reformation of church-diſcipline. But I truſt they for whom God hath reſerved the honour of reforming this church, will eaſily perceive their adverſaries' drift in thus calling for antiquity: they fear the plain field of the ſcriptures; the chaſe is too hot; they ſeek the dark, the buſhy, the tangled foreſt, they would imboſk: they feel themſelves ſtrook in the tranſparent ſtreams of divine truth; they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themſelves like whales, and ſpend their oil till they be dragged aſhore: though wherefore ſhould the miniſters give them ſo much line for ſhifts and delays? wherefore ſhould they not urge only the goſpel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their miſty eyeballs? maintaining it the honour of its abſolute ſufficiency and ſupremacy inviolable: for if the ſcripture be for reformation, and antiquity to boot, it is but an advantage to the dozen, it is no winning caſt: and though antiquity be againſt it, while the ſcriptures be for it, the cauſe is as good as ought to be wiſhed, antiquity itſelf ſitting judge.

But to draw to an end; the ſecond ſort of thoſe that may be juſtly numbered among the hinderers of reformation, are libertines; theſe ſuggeſt that the diſcipline ſought would be intolerable: for one biſhop now in a dioceſe, we ſhould then have a pope in every pariſh. It will not be

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requiſite to anſwer theſe men, but only to diſcover them; for reaſon they have none, but luſt and licentiouſneſs, and therefore anſwer can have none. It is not any diſcipline that they could live under, it is the corruption and remiſſneſs of diſcipline that they ſeek. Epiſcopacy duly executed, yea, the turkiſh and jewiſh rigour againſt whoring and drinking; the dear and tender diſcipline of a father, the ſociable and loving reproof of a brother, the boſom admonition of a friend, is a preſbytery, and a conſiſtory to them. It is only the merry friar in Chaucer can diſple * them.

> Full ſweetly heard he confeſſion,
> And pleaſant was his abſolution,
> He was an eaſy man to give penance.

And ſo I leave them; and refer the political diſcourſe of epiſcopacy to a ſecond book.

* A contraction of diſciple.

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OF

# REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

## THE SECOND BOOK.

SIR,

IT is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended virtue to order well one houſe: but to govern a nation piouſly and juſtly, which only is to ſay happily, is for a ſpirit of the greateſt ſize, and divineſt mettle. And certainly of no leſs a mind, nor of leſs excellence in another way, were they who by writing laid the ſolid and true foundations of this ſcience, which being of greateſt importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath been more cankered in her principles, more ſoiled, and ſlubbered with aphoriſming pedantry, than the art of policy; and that moſt, where a man would think ſhould leaſt be, in chriſtian commonwealths. They teach not, that to govern well, is to train up a nation in true wiſdom and virtue, and that which ſprings from thence, magnanimity (take heed of that), and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happieſt end, likeneſs to God, which in one word we call godlineſs; and that this is the true flouriſhing of a land, other things follow as the ſhadow does the ſubſtance; to teach thus were mere pulpitry to them. This is the maſterpiece of a modern politician, how to qualify and mould the ſufferance and ſubjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks; how rapine may ſerve itſelf with the fair and honourable pretences of public good; how the puny law may be brought under the

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the wardſhip and control of luſt and will: in which attempt if they fall ſhort, then muſt a ſuperficial colour of reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to waſh over the unſightly bruiſe of honour. To make men governable in this manner, their precepts mainly tend to break a national ſpirit and courage, by countenancing open riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigured and made men beneath men, as Juno in the fable of Io, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the commonwealth to be ſtung and vexed with the breeſe and goad of oppreſſion, under the cuſtody of ſome Argus with a hundred eyes of jealouſy. To be plainer, ſir, how to ſodder, how to ſtop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcaſe of a crazy and diſeaſed monarchy or ſtate, betwixt wind and water, ſwimming ſtill upon her own dead lees, that now is the deep deſign of a politician. Alas, ſir! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge chriſtian perſonage, one mighty growth and ſtature of an honeſt man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and cauſes are of ſingle happineſs to one man, the ſame ye ſhall find them to a whole ſtate, as Ariſtotle, both in his Ethics and Politics, from the principles of reaſon lays down: by conſequence, therefore, that which is good and agreeable to monarchy, will appear ſooneſt to be ſo, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Chriſtian; and that which can be juſtly proved hurtful and offenſive to every true Chriſtian, will be evinced to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for God forbid that we ſhould ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the end and good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Chriſtianity. How then this third and laſt ſort that hinder reformation, will juſtify that it ſtands not with reaſon of ſtate, I much muſe; for certain I am, the Bible is ſhut againſt them, as certain that neither Plato nor Ariſtotle is for their turns. What they can bring us now from the ſchools of Loyola with his Jeſuits, or their Malvezzi, that can cut Tacitus into ſlivers and ſteaks, we ſhall preſently hear. They allege, 1. That the church-government muſt be conformable to the civil polity; next, that no form of church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that

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of

of biſhops. Muſt church-government that is appointed in the goſpel, and has chief reſpect to the ſoul, be conformable and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly converſant about the viſible and external part of man? This is the very maxim that moulded the calves of Bethel and of Dan; this was the quinteſſence of Jeroboam's policy, he made religion conform to his politic intereſts; and this was the ſin that watched over the Iſraelites till their final captivity. If this ſtate principle come from the prelates, as they affect to be counted ſtatiſts, let them look back to Eleutherius biſhop of Rome, and ſee what he thought of the policy of England; being required by Lucius, the firſt Chriſtian king of this iſland, to give his counſel for the founding of religious laws, little thought he of this ſage caution, but bids him betake himſelf to the Old and New Teſtament, and receive direction from them how to adminiſter both church and commonwealth; that he was God's vicar, and therefore to rule by God's laws; that the edicts of Cæſar we may at all times diſallow, but the ſtatutes of God for no reaſon we may reject. Now certain, if church-government be taught in the goſpel, as the biſhops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late ſtanding this poſition is, newly calculated for the altitude of biſhop-elevation, and lettuce for their lips. But by what example can they ſhow, that the form of church-diſcipline muſt be minted and modelled out to ſecular pretences? The ancient republic of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil eſtate, if we ſurvey the ſtory from the giving of the law to the Herods; yet did one manner of prieſtly government ſerve without inconvenience to all theſe temporal mutations; it ſerved the mild ariſtocracy of elective dukes, and heads of tribes joined with them; the dictatorſhip of the judges, the eaſy or hardhanded monarchies, the domeſtic or foreign tyrannies: laſtly, the Roman ſenate from without, the Jewiſh ſenate at home, with the Galilean tetrarch; yet the Levites had ſome right to deal in civil affairs: but ſeeing the evangelical precept forbids churchmen to intermeddle with worldly employments, what interweavings or interworkings can knit the miniſter and the magiſtrate in their ſeveral functions,

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tions, to the regard of any preciſe correſpondency? Seeing that the churchman's office is only to teach men the Chriſtian faith, to exhort all, to encourage the good, to admoniſh the bad, privately the leſs offender, publicly the ſcandalous and ſtubborn; to cenſure and ſeparate, from the communion of Chriſt's flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with joy and fatherly compaſſion the penitent: all this muſt be done, and more than this is beyond any church-authority. What is all this either here or there, to the temporal regiment of weal public, whether it be popular, princely, or monarchical? Where doth it entrench upon the temporal governor? where does it come in his walk? where doth it make inroad upon his juriſdiction? Indeed if the miniſter's part be rightly diſcharged, it renders him the people more conſcionable, quiet, and eaſy to be governed; if otherwiſe, his life and doctrine will declare him. If, therefore, the conſtitution of the church be already ſet down by divine preſcript, as all ſides confeſs, then can ſhe not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities and reſpects; and if the nature and limits of church-diſcipline be ſuch, as are either helpful to all political eſtates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no neceſſity, nor indeed poſſibility, of linking the one with the other in a ſpecial conformation.

Now for their ſecond concluſion, "That no form of church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of biſhops," although it fall to pieces of itſelf by that which hath been ſaid; yet to give them play, front and rear, it ſhall be my taſk to prove that epiſcopacy, with that authority which it challenges in England, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the deſtruction of monarchy. While the primitive paſtors of the church of God laboured faithfully in their miniſtry, tending only their ſheep, and not ſeeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations and debaſements to their high calling; little needed the princes and potentates of the earth, which way ſoever the goſpel was ſpread, to ſtudy ways how to make a coherence between the church's polity and theirs: therefore, when Pilate heard once our Saviour Chriſt profeſſing that "his kingdom

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dom was not of this world," he thought the man could not ſtand much in Cæſar's light, nor much endamage the Roman empire; for if the life of Chriſt be hid to this world, much more is his ſceptre unoperative, but in ſpiritual things. And thus lived, for two or three ages, the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles. But when, through Conſtantine's laviſh ſuperſtition, they forſook their firſt love, and ſet themſelves up two gods inſtead, Mammon and their Belly; then taking advantage of the ſpiritual power which they had on men's conſciences, they began to caſt a longing eye to get the body alſo, and bodily things into their command: upon which their carnal deſires, the ſpirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themſelves up from falling to nothing, but by bolſtering and ſupporting their inward rottenneſs by a carnal and outward ſtrength. For a while they rather privily ſought opportunity, than haſtily diſcloſed their project; but when Conſtantine was dead, and three or four emperors more, their drift became notorious and offenſive to the whole world; for while Theodoſius the younger reigned, thus writes Socrates the hiſtorian, in his 7th book, chap. 11. "Now began an ill name to ſtick upon the biſhops of Rome and Alexandria, who beyond their prieſtly bounds now long ago had ſtepped into principality:" and this was ſcarce eighty years ſince their raiſing from the meaneſt worldly condition. Of courteſy now let any man tell me, if they draw to themſelves a temporal ſtrength and power out of Cæſar's dominion, is not Cæſar's empire thereby diminiſhed? But this was a ſtolen bit, hitherto he was but a caterpillar ſecretly gnawing at monarchy; the next time you ſhall ſee him a wolf, a lion, lifting his paw againſt his raiſer, as Petrarch expreſſed it, and finally an open enemy and ſubverter of the Greek empire. Philippicus and Leo, with divers other emperors after them, not without the advice of their patriarchs, and at length of a whole eaſtern council of three hundred and thirty-eight biſhops, threw the images out of churches as being decreed idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occaſion, the biſhop of Rome not only ſeizes the city, and all the territory about, into his own hands, and makes himſelf lord thereof, which till then

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then was governed by a Greek magiſtrate, but abſolves all Italy of their tribute and obedience due to the emperor, becauſe he obeyed God's commandment in aboliſhing idolatry.

Mark, ſir, here, how the pope came by St. Peter's patrimony, as he feigns it; not the donation of Conſtantine, but idolatry and rebellion got it him. Ye need but read Sigonius, one of his own ſect, to know the ſtory at large. And now to ſhroud himſelf againſt a ſtorm from the Greek continent, and provide a champion to bear him out in theſe practices, he takes upon him by papal ſentence to unthrone Chilpericus the rightful king of France, and gives the kingdom to Pepin, for no other cauſe, but that he ſeemed to him the more active man. If he were a friend herein to monarchy, I know not; but to the monarch I need not aſk what he was.

Having thus made Pepin his faſt friend, he calls him into Italy againſt Aiſtulphus the Lombard, that warred upon him for his late uſurpation of Rome, as belonging to Ravenna which he had newly won. Pepin, not unobedient to the pope's call, paſſing into Italy, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchate of Ravenna; which though it had been almoſt immediately before the hereditary poſſeſſion of that monarchy, which was his chief patron and benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himſelf as lawful prize, and given to St. Peter. What a dangerous fallacy is this, when a ſpiritual man may ſnatch to himſelf any temporal dignity or dominion, under pretence of receiving it for the church's uſe? Thus he claims Naples, Sicily, England, and what not? To be ſhort, under ſhow of his zeal againſt the errours of the Greek church, he never ceaſed baiting and goring the ſucceſſors of his beſt lord Conſtantine, what by his barking curſes and excommunications, what by his hindering the weſtern princes from aiding them againſt the Sarazens and Turks, unleſs when they humoured him; ſo that it may be truly affirmed, he was the ſubverſion and fall of that monarchy, which was the hoiſting of him. This, beſides Petrarch, whom I have cited, our Chaucer alſo hath obſerved, and gives from hence a caution to England, to beware of her biſhops in time, for



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that their ends and aims are no more friendly to monarchy, than the pope's.

This he begins in the Ploughman ſpeaking, Part ii. Stanz. 28.

> The emperor yafe the pope ſometime
> So high lordſhip him about,
> That at laſt the filly kime,
> The proud pope put him out;
> So of this realm is no doubt,
> But lords beware and them defend;
> For now theſe folks be wonders ſtout,
> The king and lords now this amend.

And in the next Stanza, which begins the third part of the tale, he argues that they ought not to be lords.

> Moſes law forbode it tho
> That prieſts ſhould no lordſhip welde,
> Chriſt's goſpel biddeth alſo
> That they ſhould no lordſhips held:
> Ne Chriſt's apoſtles were never ſo bold
> No ſuch lordſhips to hem embrace,
> But ſmeren her ſheep and keep her fold.

And ſo forward. Whether the biſhops of England have deſerved thus to be feared by men ſo wiſe as our Chaucer is eſteemed; and how agreeable to our monarchy and monarchs their demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our chronicles needs not be inſtructed. Have they not been as the Canaanites, and Philiſtines, to this kingdom? what treaſons, what revolts to the pope? what rebellions, and thoſe the baſeſt and moſt pretenceleſs, have they not been chief in? What could monarchy think, when Becket durſt challenge the cuſtody of Rocheſter-caſtle, and the Tower of London, as appertaining to his ſignory? To omit his other inſolencies and affronts to regal majeſty, until the laſhes inflicted on the anointed body of the king, waſhed off the holy unction with his blood drawn by the polluted hands of biſhops, abbots, and monks.

What good upholders of royalty were the biſhops, when by their rebellious oppoſition againſt king John, Normandy was loſt, he himſelf depoſed, and this kingdom

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dom made over to the pope? When the biſhop of Winchester durſt tell the nobles, the pillars of the realm, that there were no peers in England, as in France, but that the king might do what he pleaſed. What could tyranny ſay more? It would be pretty now, if I ſhould inſiſt upon the rendering up of Tournay by Woolſey's treaſon, the excommunications, curſings, and interdicts upon the whole land; for haply I ſhall be cut off ſhort by a reply, that theſe were the faults of men and their popiſh errours, not of epiſcopacy, that hath now renounced the pope, and is a proteſtant. Yes ſure; as wiſe and famous men have ſuſpected and feared the proteſtant epiſcopacy in England, as thoſe that have feared the papal.

You know, ſir, what was the judgment of Padre Paolo, the great Venetian antagoniſt of the pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his fear, that when the hierarchy of England ſhall light into the hands of buſy and audacious men, or ſhall meet with princes tractable to the prelacy, then much miſchief is like to enſue. And can it be nearer hand, than when biſhops ſhall openly affirm that, no biſhop no king? A trim paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the twin brother to it out of the Jeſuits cell: they feeling the axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy, and finding the Spaniard their ſureſt friend, and ſafeſt refuge, to ſooth him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit papalty, have invented this ſuperpolitic aphoriſm, as one terms it, one pope and one king.

Surely there is not any prince in chriſtendom, who, hearing this rare ſophiſtry, can chooſe but ſmile; and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy motto, no biſhop no king, is of the ſame batch, and infanted out of the ſame fears, a mere ague-cake coagulated of a certain fever they have, preſaging their time to be but ſhort: and now like thoſe that are ſinking, they catch round of that which is likeſt to hold them up; and would perſuade regal power, that if they dive, he muſt after. But what greater debaſement can there be to royal dignity, whoſe towering and ſted-



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fast height rests upon the unmovable foundations of justice, and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependance of subsisting, or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelatry, which want but one puff of the king's to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards? Sir, the little ado which methinks I find in untacking these pleasant sophisms, puts me into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further; and Menenius Agrippa speed us.

Upon a time the body summoned all the members to meet in the guild for the common good, (as Æsop's chronicles aver many stranger accidents:) the head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous wen little less than the head itself, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members, amazed, began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief? none could resolve. Whereat the wen, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up, and bespeaks the assembly to this purpose: that as in place he was second to the head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of special near relation; and that if the head should fail, none were fitter than himself to step into his place: therefore he thought it for the honour of the body, that such dignities and rich endowments should be decreed him, as did adorn, and set out the noblest members. To this was answered, that it should be consulted. Then was a wise and learned philosopher sent for, that knew all the charters, laws, and tenures of the body. On him it is imposed by all, as chief committee to examine, and discuss the claim and petition of right put in by the wen; who soon perceiving the matter, and wondering at the boldness of such a swoln tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vicious and hardened excrements, contend with the lawful and freeborn members, whose certain number is set by ancient, and unrepealable statute? head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it: what office beareſt thou? what good canst thou show by thee done to the commonweal? The wen not easily dashed, replies, that his office was his glory; for so oft as the soul would retire out of the head from over the steaming

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fearing vapours of the lower parts to divine contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance. Lourdan, quoth the philosopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth: know that all the faculties of the soul are confined of old to their several vessels and ventricles, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole body; and that thou containest no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome uncleanness, and art to the head a foul disfigurement and burden, when I have cut thee off, and opened thee, as by the help of these implements I will do, all men shall see.

But to return whence was digressed: seeing that the throne of a king, as the wise king Solomon often remembers us, "is established in justice," which is the universal justice that Aristotle so much praises, containing in it all other virtues, it may assure us that the fall of prelacy, whose actions are so far distant from justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy; but that their standing doth continually oppose and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary and accessary causes that support monarchy, these are not of least reckoning, though common to all other states; the love of the subjects, the multitude and valour of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the kingdom been of late sore weakened, and chiefly by the prelates. First, let any man consider, that if any prince shall suffer under him a commission of authority to be exercised, till all the land groan and cry out, as against a whip of scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen, and keel the affections of the subject. Next, what numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops! O sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to be-



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hold ſo many of her children expoſed at once, and thruſt from things of deareſt neceſſity, becauſe their conſcience could not aſſent to things which the biſhops thought indifferent? What more binding than conſcience? What more free than indifferency? Cruel then muſt that indifferency needs be, that ſhall violate the ſtrict neceſſity of conſcience; mercileſs and inhuman that free choice and liberty that ſhall break aſunder the bonds of religion! Let the aſtrologer be diſmayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impreſſions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to ſtates: I ſhall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding ſign to a nation (God turn the omen from us!) than when the inhabitants, to avoid inſufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forſake their native country. Now, whereas the only remedy and amends againſt the depopulation and thinneſs of a land within, is the borrowed ſtrength of firm alliance from without, theſe prieſtly policies of theirs having thus exhauſted our domeſtic forces, have gone the way alſo to leave us as naked of our firmeſt and faithfulleſt neighbours abroad, by diſparaging and alienating from us all proteſtant princes and commonwealths; who are not ignorant that our prelates, and as many as they can infect, account them no better than a ſort of ſacrilegious and puritanical rebels, preferring the Spaniard our deadly enemy before them, and ſet all orthodox writers at nought in compariſon of the Jeſuits, who are indeed the only corrupters of youth and good learning: and I have heard many wiſe and learned men in Italy ſay as much. It cannot be that the ſtrongeſt knot of confederacy ſhould not daily ſlacken, when religion, which is the chief engagement of our league, ſhall be turned to their reproach. Hence it is that the proſperous and prudent ſtates of the United Provinces, (whom we ought to love, if not for themſelves, yet for our own good work in them, they having been in a manner planted and erected by us, and having been ſince to us the faithful watchmen and diſcoverers of many a popiſh and Auſtrian complotted treaſon, and with us the partners of many a bloody and victorious battle;) whom the ſimilitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffick, which founded the old Burgundian

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gundian league betwixt us, but chiefly religion, ſhould bind to us immortally; even ſuch friends as theſe, out of ſome principles inſtilled into us by the prelates, have been often diſmiſſed with diſtaſteful anſwers, and ſometimes unfriendly actions: nor is it to be conſidered to the breach of confederate nations, whoſe mutual intereſts is of ſuch high conſequence, though their merchants bicker in the Eaſt Indies; neither is it ſafe, or wary, or indeed chriſtianly, that the French king, of a different faith, ſhould afford our neareſt allies as good protection as we. Sir, I perſuade myſelf, if our zeal to true religion, and the brotherly uſage of our trueſt friends, were as notorious to the world, as our prelatical ſchiſm, and captivity to rochet apophthegms, we had ere this ſeen our old conquerors, and afterwards liegemen the Normans, together with the Britains our proper colony, and all the Gaſcoins that are the rightful dowry of our ancient kings, come with cap and knee, deſiring the ſhadow of the Engliſh ſceptre to defend them from the hot perſecutions and taxes of the French. But when they come hither, and ſee a tympany of Spaniolized biſhops ſwaggering in the foretop of the ſtate, and meddling to turn and dandle the royal ball with unſkilful and pedantic palms, no marvel though they think it as unſafe to commit religion and liberty to their arbitrating as to a ſynagogue of Jeſuits.

But what do I ſtand reckoning upon advantages and gains loſt by the miſrule and turbulency of the prelates? What do I pick up ſo thriftily their ſcatterings and diminiſhings of the meaner ſubject, whilſt they by their ſeditious practices have endangered to loſe the king one third of his main ſtock? What have they not done to baniſh him from his own native country? But to ſpeak of this as it ought, would aſk a volume by itſelf.

Thus as they have unpeopled the kingdom by expulſion of ſo many thouſands, as they have endeavoured to lay the ſkirts of it bare by diſheartening and diſhonouring our loyalleſt confederates abroad, ſo have they hamſtrung the valour of the ſubject by ſeeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wiſe nation that their liberty conſiſts in manly and honeſt labours, in ſobriety and rigorous honour to the marriagebed, which in both ſexes



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ſhould be bred up from chaſte hopes to loyal enjoyments; and when the people ſlacken, and fall to looſeneſs and riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their necks for ſome wild tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt Cyrus to tame the Lydians, whom by arms he could not whilſt they kept themſelves from luxury; with one eaſy proclamation to ſet up ſtews, dancing, feaſting, and dicing, he made them ſoon his ſlaves. I know not what drift the prelates had, whoſe brokers they were to prepare, and ſupple us either for a foreign invaſion or domeſtic oppreſſion; but this I am ſure, they took the ready way to deſpoil us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the ſhamefulleſt and ungodlieſt manner, upon that day which God's law, and even our own reaſon hath conſecrated, that we might have one day at leaſt of ſeven ſet apart wherein to examine and increaſe our knowledge of God, to meditate and commune of our faith, our hope, our eternal city in Heaven, and to quicken withal the ſtudy and exerciſe of charity; at ſuch a time that men ſhould be plucked from their ſobereſt and ſaddeſt thoughts, and by biſhops, the pretended fathers of the church, inſtigated, by public edict, and with earneſt endeavour puſhed forward to gaming, jigging, waſſailing, and mixed dancing, is a horror to think! Thus did the reprobate hireling prieſt Balaam ſeek to ſubdue the Iſraelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this deviliſh policy, to draw them from the ſanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feaſts of Baal-peor. Thus have they treſpaſſed not only againſt the monarchy of England, but of Heaven alſo, as others, I doubt not, can proſecute againſt them.

I proceed within my own bounds to ſhow you next what good agents they are about the revenues and riches of the kingdom, which declare of what moment they are to monarchy, or what avail. Two leeches they have that ſtill ſuck, and ſuck the kingdom, their ceremonies and their courts. If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the goſpel, he may be anſwered other where. This doubtleſs, that they ought to be many and overcoſtly, no true proteſtant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wiſe men, what an exceſſive waſte of treaſure hath been within theſe few years in this land, not in the expe-

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dient, but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dearbought scandals and snares of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altarcloths: and by the courses they took, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madness, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials than these have built up the spiritual Babel to the height of her abominations? Believe it, sir, right truly it may be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son. The sour leaven of human traditions, mixed in one putrefied mass with the poisonous dregs of hypocrisy in the hearts of prelates, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion, is the serpent's egg that will hatch an Antichrist whersoever, and engender the same monster as big, or little, as the lump is which breeds him. If the splendour of gold and silver begin to lord it once again in the church of England, we shall see Antichrist shortly wallow here, though his chief kennel be at Rome. If they had one thought upon God's glory, and the advancement of Christian faith, they would be a means that with these expenses, thus profusely thrown away in trash, rather churches and schools might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painful minister, that now scarce sustains his family with bread, while the prelates revel like Belshazzar with their full carouses in goblets, and vessels of gold snatched from God's temple; which (I hope) the worthy men of our land will consider. Now then for their courts. What a mass of money is drawn from the veins into the ulcers of the kingdom this way; their extortions, their open corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous harpies that swarm about their offices, declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not over sea? It were better it did: better a penurious kingdom, than where excessive wealth flows into the graceless and injurious hands of common sponges, to the impoverishing of good and loyal men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

If the sacred and dreadful works of holy discipline, censure,

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cenſure, penance, excommunication, and abſolution, where no prophane thing ought to have acceſs, nothing to be aſſiſtant but ſage and chriſtianly admonition, brotherly love, flaming charity and zeal; and then according to the effects, paternal ſorrow, or paternal joy, mild ſeverity, melting compaſſion; if ſuch divine miniſteries as theſe, wherein the angel of the church repreſents the perſon of Chriſt Jeſus, muſt lie proſtitute to ſordid fees and not paſs to and fro between our Saviour that of free grace redeemed us, and the ſubmiſſive penitent without the truckage of periſhing coin, and the butcherly execution of tormentors, rooks, and rakeſhames ſold to lucre; then have the Babyloniſh merchants of ſouls juſt excuſe. Hitherto, ſir, you have heard how the prelates have weakened and withdrawn the external accompliſhments of kingly proſperity, the love of the people, their multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining and ſapping the outworks and redoubts of monarchy. Now hear how they ſtrike at the very heart and vitals.

We know that monarchy is made up of two parts, the liberty of the ſubject, and the ſupremacy of the king. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign fathers they have been to our liberty! Their trade being by the ſame alchymy that the pope uſes, to extract heaps of gold and ſilver out of the droſſy bullion of the people's ſins; and juſtly fearing that the quickſighted proteſtant's eye cleared in great part from the miſt of ſuperſtition, may at one time or other look with a good judgment into theſe their deceitful pedleries; to gain as many aſſociates of guiltineſs as they can, and to infect the temporal magiſtrate with the like lawleſs, though not ſacrilegious extortion, ſee awhile what they do; they engage themſelves to preach, and perſuade an aſſertion for truth the moſt falſe, and to this monarchy the moſt pernicious and deſtructive that could be choſen. What more baneful to monarchy than a popular commotion, for the diſſolution of monarchy ſlides apteſt into a democracy; and what ſtirs the Engliſhmen, as our wiſeſt writers have obſerved, ſooner to rebellion, than violent and heavy hands upon their goods and purſes? Yet theſe devout prelates, ſpight of our great charter, and the ſouls of our progenitors that

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wreſted their liberties out of the Norman gripe with their deareſt blood and higheſt proweſs, for theſe many years have not ceaſed in their pulpits wrenching and ſpraining the text, to ſet at naught and trample under foot all the moſt ſacred and lifeblood laws, ſtatutes, and acts of parliament, that are the holy covenant of union and marriage between the king and his realm, by proſcribing and confiſcating from us all the right we have to our own bodies, goods, and liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a firecroſs to an hereditary and perpetual civil war? Thus much againſt the ſubjects liberty hath been aſſaulted by them. Now how they have ſpared ſupremacy, or are likely hereafter to ſubmit to it, remains laſtly to be conſidered.

The emulation that under the old law was in the king towards the prieſt, is now ſo come about in the goſpel, that all the danger is to be feared from the prieſt to the king. Whilſt the prieſt's office in the law was ſet out with an exterior luſtre of pomp and glory, kings were ambitious to be prieſts; now prieſts, not perceiving the heavenly brightneſs and inward ſplendour of their more glorious evangelic miniſtry, with as great ambition affect to be kings, as in all their courſes is eaſy to be obſerved. Their eyes ever eminent upon worldly matters, their deſires ever thirſting after worldly employments, inſtead of diligent and fervent ſtudy in the Bible, they covet to be expert in canons and decretals, which may enable them to judge and interpoſe in temporal cauſes, however pretended eccleſiaſtical. Do they not hoard up pelf, ſeek to be potent in ſecular ſtrength, in ſtate affairs, in lands, lordſhips, and demains, to ſway and carry all before them in high courts and privy councils, to bring into their graſp the high and principal offices of the kingdom? Have they not been bold of late to check the common law, to ſlight and brave the indiminiſhable majeſty of our higheſt court, the lawgiving and ſacred parliament? Do they not plainly labour to exempt churchmen from the magiſtrate? Yea, ſo preſumptuouſly as to queſtion and menace officers that repreſent the king's perſon for uſing their authority againſt drunken prieſts? The cauſe of protecting murderous clergymen was the firſt heartburn-

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ing that ſwelled up the audacious Becket to the peſtilent and odious vexation of Henry the Second. Nay more, have not ſome of their devoted ſcholars begun, I need not ſay to nibble, but openly to argue againſt the king's ſupremacy? Is not the chief of them accuſed out of his own book, and his late canons, to affect a certain unqueſtionable patriarchate, independent, and unſubordinate to the crown? From whence having firſt brought us to a ſervile ſtate of religion and manhood, and having prediſpoſed his conditions with the pope, that lays claim to this land, or ſome Pepin of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aſpire to the monarchy among us, as that the pope could find means ſo on the ſudden both to bereave the emperor of the Roman territory with the favour of Italy, and by an unexpected friend out of France, while he was in danger to loſe his newgot purchaſe, beyond hope to leap into the fair exarchate of Ravenna.

A good while the pope ſubtly acted the lamb, writing to the emperor "my lord Tiberius, my lord Mauritius;" but no ſooner did this his lord pluck at the images and idols, but he threw off his ſheep's clothing, and ſtarted up a wolf, laying his paws upon the emperor's right, as forfeited to Peter. Why may not we as well, having been forewarned at home by our renowned Chaucer, and from abroad by the great and learned Padre Paolo, from the like beginnings, as we ſee they are, fear the like events? Certainly a wiſe and provident king ought to ſuſpect a hierarchy in his realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two ſuch greedy purveyors, ambition and uſurpation; I ſay, he ought to ſuſpect a hierarchy to be as dangerous and derogatory from his crown as a tetrarchy or a heptarchy. Yet now that the prelates had almoſt attained to what their inſolent and unbridled minds had hurried them; to thruſt the laity under the deſpotical rule of the monarch, that they themſelves might confine the monarch to a kind of pupillage under their hierarchy, obſerve but how their own principles combat one another, and ſupplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a ſervile peace, by leſſening our numbers, draining our eſtates, enfee-

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enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free ſpirits by thoſe ways as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot ſuſtain themſelves the leaſt moment, unleſs they would rouſe us up to a war fit for Cain to be the leader of; an abhorred, a curſed, a fraternal war. England and Scotland, deareſt brothers both in nature and in Chriſt, muſt be ſet to wade in one another's blood; and Ireland, our free Denizen, upon the back of us both, as occaſion ſhould ſerve: a piece of ſervice that the pope and all his factors have been compaſſing to do ever ſince the Reformation.

But ever bleſſed be he, and ever glorified, that from his high watchtower in the heavens, diſcerning the crooked ways of perverſe and cruel men, hath hitherto maimed and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great wizards with a deluſion fit for fools and children; had God been ſo minded, he could have ſent a ſpirit of mutiny amongſt us, as he did between Abimelech and the Sechemites, to have made our funerals, and ſlain heaps more in number than the miſerable ſurviving remnant; but he, when we leaſt deſerved, ſent out a gentle gale and meſſage of peace from the wings of thoſe his cherubims that fan his mercyſeat. Nor ſhall the wiſdom, the moderation, the Chriſtian piety, the conſtancy of our nobility and commons of England, be ever forgotten, whoſe calm and temperate connivance could ſit ſtill and ſmile out the ſtormy bluſter of men more audacious and precipitant than of ſolid and deep reach, until their own fury had run itſelf out of breath, aſſailing by raſh and heady approaches the impregnable ſituation of our liberty and ſafety, that laughed ſuch weak enginery to ſcorn, ſuch poor driſts to make a national war of a ſurplice brabble, a tippet ſcuffle, and engage the untainted honour of Engliſh knighthood to unfurl the ſtreaming red croſs, or to rear the horrid ſtandard of thoſe fatal guly dragons for ſo unworthy a purpoſe, as to force upon their fellow ſubjects that which themſelves are weary of, the ſkeleton of a maſs-book. Nor muſt the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, ſtriving againſt manifold provocations; nor muſt their ſincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremem-

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unremembered, to the ſhameful conviction of all their detractors.

Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be diſunited; be the praiſe and the heroic ſong of all poſterity; merit this, but ſeek only virtue, not to extend your limits; (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?) but to ſettle the pure worſhip of God in his church, and juſtice in the ſtate: then ſhall the hardeſt difficulties ſmooth out themſelves before ye; envy ſhall ſink to Hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred miſchief or outlandiſh cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to ſerve ye, for lordſhip and victory are but the pages of juſtice and virtue. Commit ſecurely to true wiſdom the vanquiſhing and uncaſing of craft and ſubtlety, which are but her two runagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that ſeeks to break your union, a cleaving curſe be his inheritance to all generations.

Sir, you have now at length this queſtion for the time, and as my memory would beſt ſerve me in ſuch a copious and vaſt theme, fully handled, and you yourſelf may judge whether prelacy be the only church-government agreeable to monarchy. Seeing therefore the perilous and confuſed ſtate into which we are fallen, and that to the certain knowledge of all men, through the irreligious pride and hateful tyranny of prelates, (as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every ſhire cry out) if we will now reſolve to ſettle affairs either according to pure religion or ſound policy, we muſt firſt of all begin roundly to caſhier and cut away from the public body the noiſome and diſeaſed tumour of prelacy, and come from ſchiſm to unity with our neighbour reformed ſiſterchurches, which with the bleſſing of peace and pure doctrine have now long time flouriſhed; and doubtleſs with all hearty joy and gratulation will meet and welcome our Chriſtian union with them, as they have been all this while grieved at our ſtrangeneſs, and little better than ſeparation from them. And for the diſcipline propounded, ſeeing that it hath been inevitably proved that the natural and fundamental cauſes of political happineſs in

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all governments are the ſame, and that this church-diſcipline is taught in the word of God, and, as we ſee, agrees according to wiſh with all ſuch ſtates as have received it; we may infallibly aſſure ourſelves that it will as well agree with monarchy, though all the tribe of Aphoriſmers and Politicaſters would perſuade us there be ſecret and myſterious reaſons againſt it. For upon the ſettling hereof mark what nouriſhing and cordial reſtorements to the ſtate will follow, the miniſters of the goſpel attending only to the work of ſalvation, every one within his limited charge; beſides the diffuſive bleſſings of God upon all our actions, the king ſhall ſit without an old diſturber, a daily incroacher and intruder; ſhall rid his kingdom of a ſtrong ſequeſtered and collateral power; a confronting mitre, whoſe potent wealth and wakeful ambition he had juſt cauſe to hold in jealouſy: not to repeat the other preſent evils which only their removal will remove, and becauſe things ſimply pure are inconſiſtent in the maſs of nature, nor are the elements or humours in a man's body exactly homogeneal; and hence the beſt-founded commonwealths and leaſt barbarous have aimed at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the ſeveral virtues of each other ſtate, that each part drawing to itſelf may keep up a ſteady and even uprightneſs in common.

There is no civil government that hath been known, no not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this reſpect ſo much praiſed by the wiſe Polybius, more divinely and harmoniouſly tuned, more equally balanced as it were by the hand and ſcale of juſtice, than is the commonwealth of England; where, under a free and untutored monarch, the nobleſt, worthieſt, and moſt prudent men, with full approbation and ſuffrage of the people, have in their power the ſupreme and final determination of higheſt affairs. Now if conformity of church-diſcipline to the civil be ſo deſired, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, than when under the ſovereign prince, Chriſt's vicegerent, uſing the ſceptre of David, according to God's law, the godlieſt, the wiſeſt, the learnedeſt miniſters in their ſeveral charges have the inſtructing and diſciplining of God's people, by whoſe full and free election they are conſecrated to that holy

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and equal ariſtocracy. And why ſhould not the piety and conſcience of Engliſhmen, as members of the church, be truſted in the election of paſtors to functions that nothing concern a monarch, as well as their worldly wiſdoms are privileged as members of the ſtate in ſuffraging their knights and burgeſſes to matters that concern him nearly? And if in weighing theſe ſeveral offices, their difference in time and quality be caſt in, I know they will not turn the beam of equal judgment the moiety of a ſcruple. We therefore having already a kind of apoſtolical and ancient church election in our ſtate, what a perverſeneſs would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and ſtately election in our church? And what a blindneſs to think that what is already evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our polity, ſhould be repugnant to that which is the ſame by divine command in the miniſtry? Thus then we ſee that our eccleſiaſtical and political choices may conſent and ſort as well together without any rupture in the ſtate, as Chriſtians and freeholders. But as for honour, that ought indeed to be different and diſtinct, as either office looks a ſeveral way; the miniſter whoſe calling and end is ſpiritual, ought to be honoured as a father and phyſician to the ſoul, (if he be found to be ſo) with a ſonlike and diſciplelike reverence, which is indeed the deareſt and moſt affectionate honour, moſt to be deſired by a wiſe man, and ſuch as will eaſily command a free and plentiful proviſion of outward neceſſaries, without his further care of this world.

The magiſtrate, whoſe charge is to ſee to our perſons and eſtates, is to be honoured with a more elaborate and perſonal courtſhip, with large ſalaries and ſtipends, that he himſelf may abound in thoſe things whereof his legal juſtice and watchful care gives us the quiet enjoyment. And this diſtinction of honour will bring forth a ſeemly and graceful uniformity over all the kingdom.

Then ſhall the nobles poſſeſs all the dignities and offices of temporal honour to themſelves, ſole lords without the improper mixture of ſcholaſtic and puſillanimous upſtarts; the parliament ſhall void her upper houſe of the ſame annoyances; the common and civil laws ſhall be

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be both ſet free, the former from the control, the other from the mere vaſſalage and copyhold of the clergy.

And whereas temporal laws rather puniſh men when they have tranſgreſſed, than form them to be ſuch as ſhould tranſgreſs ſeldomeſt, we may conceive great hopes, through the ſhowers of divine benediction watering the unmoleſted and watchful pains of the miniſtry, that the whole inheritance of God will grow up ſo ſtraight and blameleſs, that the civil magiſtrate may with far leſs toil and difficulty, and far more eaſe and delight, ſteer the tall and goodly veſſel of the commonwealth through all the guſts and tides of the world's mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that ſome objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, preſs me to the endeavour of an anſwer. We muſt not run, they ſay, into ſudden extremes. This is a fallacious rule, unleſs underſtood only of the actions of virtue about things indifferent: for if it be found that thoſe two extremes be vice and virtue, falſehood and truth, the greater extremity of virtue and ſuperlative truth we run into, the more virtuous and the more wiſe we become; and he that, flying from degenerate and traditional corruption, fears to ſhoot himſelf too far into the meeting embraces of a divinely warranted reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the ſuddenneſs, it cannot be feared. Who ſhould oppoſe it? The papiſts? they dare not. The proteſtants otherwiſe affected? they were mad. There is nothing will be removed but what to them is profeſſedly indifferent. The long affection which the people have borne to it, what for itſelf, what for the odiouſneſs of prelates, is evident: from the firſt year of queen Elizabeth it hath ſtill been more and more propounded, deſired, and beſeeched, yea ſometimes favourably forwarded by the parliaments themſelves. Yet if it were ſudden and ſwift, provided ſtill it be from worſe to better, certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid ourſelves of corrupt diſcipline, as we would ſhake fire out of our boſoms.

Speedy and vehement were the reformations of all the good kings of Judah, though the people had been nuzzled in idolatry ever ſo long before; they feared not the bug-



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bear danger, nor the lion in the way that the ſluggiſh and timorous politician thinks he ſees; no more did our brethren of the reformed churches abroad, they ventured (God being their guide) out of rigid popery, into that which we in mockery call preciſe puritaniſm, and yet we ſee no inconvenience befel them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full bleſſing, to take as much of it as we think will ſerve our ends, and turn him back the reſt upon his hands, leſt in his anger he ſnatch all from us again. Next, they allege the antiquity of epiſcopacy through all ages. What it was in the apoſtles' time, that queſtionleſs it muſt be ſtill; and therein I truſt the miniſters will be able to ſatisfy the parliament. But if epiſcopacy be taken for prelacy, all the ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable than papacy.

Moſt certain it is (as all our ſtories bear witneſs) that ever ſince their coming to the ſee of Canterbury for near twelve hundred years, to ſpeak of them in general, they have been in England to our ſouls a ſad and doleful ſucceſſion of illiterate and blind guides; to our purſes and goods a waſteful band of robbers, a perpetual havock and rapine; to our ſtate a continual hydra of miſchief and moleſtation, the forge of diſcord and rebellion: this is the trophy of their antiquity, and boaſted ſucceſſion through ſo many ages. And for thoſe prelate-martyrs they glory of, they are to be judged what they were by the goſpel, and not the goſpel to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted, that if they were for biſhoprics and ceremonies, it was in their proſperity and fulneſs of bread; but in their perſecution, which pur[illegible] them, and near their death, which was their garland, they plainly diſliked and condemned the ceremonies, and threw away thoſe epiſcopal ornaments wherein they were inſtalled as fooliſh and deteſtable; for ſo the words of Ridley at his degradement, and his letter to Hooper, expreſsly ſhow. Neither doth the author of our church-hiſtory ſpare to record ſadly the fall (for ſo he terms it) and infirmities of theſe martyrs, though we would deify them. And why ſhould their martyrdom more countenance corrupt doctrine or diſcipline, than their ſubſcriptions

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tions juſtify their treaſon to the royal blood of this realm, by diverting and entailing the right of the crown from the true heirs, to the houſes of Northumberland and Suffolk? which had it took effect, this preſent king had in all likelihood never ſat on this throne, and the happy union of this iſland had been fruſtrated.

Laſtly, whereas they add that ſome the learneſt of the reformed abroad admire our epiſcopacy; it had been more for the ſtrength of the argument to tell us, that ſome of the wiſeſt ſtateſmen admire it, for thereby we might gueſs them weary of the preſent diſcipline, as offenſive to their ſtate, which is the bug we fear: but being they are churchmen, we may rather ſuſpect them for ſome prelatizing ſpirits that admire our biſhoprics, not epiſcopacy.

The next objection vaniſhes of itſelf, propounding a doubt, whether a greater inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other diſcipline than from that of epiſcopacy. This ſeems an unſeaſonable foreſight, and out of order, to defer and put off the moſt needful conſtitution of one right diſcipline, while we ſtand balancing the diſcommodities of two corrupt ones. Firſt conſtitute that which is right, and of itſelf it will diſcover and rectify that which ſwerves, and eaſily remedy the pretended fear of having a pope in every pariſh, unleſs we call the zealous and meek cenſure of the church a popedom, which whoſo does, let him adviſe how he can reject the paſtorly rod and ſheephook of Chriſt, and thoſe cords of love, and not fear to fall under the iron ſceptre of his anger, that will daſh him to pieces like a potſherd.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder, whether this diſcipline which we deſire be ſuch as can be put in practice within this kingdom; they ſay it cannot ſtand with the common law nor with the king's ſafety, the government of epiſcopacy is now ſo weaved into the common law. In God's name let it weave out again; let not human quillets keep back divine authority. It is not the common law, nor the civil, but piety and juſtice that are our foundreſſes; they ſtoop not, neither change colour for ariſtocracy, democracy, or monarchy, nor yet at all inter-



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rupt their juſt courſes; but far above the taking notice of theſe inferior niceties, with perfect ſympathy, wherever they meet, kiſs each other. Laſtly, they are fearful that the diſcipline which will ſucceed cannot ſtand with the king's ſafety. Wherefore? it is but epiſcopacy reduced to what it ſhould be: were it not that the tyranny of prelates under the name of biſhops had made our ears tender, and ſtartling, we might call every good miniſter a biſhop, as every biſhop, yea the apoſtles themſelves are called miniſters, and the angels miniſtering ſpirits, and the miniſters again angels. But wherein is this propounded government ſo ſhrewd? Becauſe the government of aſſemblies will ſucceed. Did not the apoſtles govern the church by aſſemblies? How ſhould it elſe be catholic? How ſhould it have communion? We count it ſacrilege to take from the rich prelates their lands and revenues, which is ſacrilege in them to keep, uſing them as they do; and can we think it ſafe to defraud the living church of God of that right which God has given her in aſſemblies? O but the conſequence! aſſemblies draw to them the ſupremacy of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. No ſurely, they draw no ſupremacy, but that authority which Chriſt, and St. Paul in his name, confers upon them. The king may ſtill retain the ſame ſupremacy in the aſſemblies, as in the parliament; here he can do nothing alone againſt the common law, and there neither alone, nor with conſent, againſt the ſcriptures. But is this all? No, this eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate kings; and then follows the worſt that can be imagined. Do they hope to avoid this, by keeping prelates that have ſo often done it? Not to exemplify the malapert inſolence of our own biſhops in this kind towards our kings; I ſhall turn back to the primitive and pure times, which the objectors would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an aſſembly, but one biſhop alone, Saint Ambroſe of Milan, held Theodoſius the moſt Chriſtian emperor under excommunication above eight months together, drove him from the church in the preſence of his nobles; which the good emperor bore with heroic humility, and never ceaſed by prayers and tears, till he was abſolved;

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for which coming to the bishop with supplication into the salutatory, some outporch of the church, he was charged by him of tyrannical madness against God, for coming into holy ground. At last, upon conditions absolved, and after great humiliation approaching to the altar to offer (as those thrice pure times then thought meet), he had scarce withdrawn his hand, and stood a while, when a bold archdeacon comes in the bishop's name, and chaces him from within the rails, telling him peremptorily, that the place wherein he stood, was for none but the priests to enter, or to touch; and this is another piece of pure primitive divinity! Think ye, then, our bishops will forego the power of excommunication on whomsoever? No certainly, unless to compass sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable prerogative of Christ's diadem, excommunication, serves for nothing with them, but to prog and pander for fees, or to display their pride, and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the law; and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods and inheritances, besides the denial of Christian burial. But in the evangelical, and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such iscariotical drifts are to be doubted, as that spiritual doom and sentence should invade worldly possession, which is the rightful lot and portion even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestowed upon them by the alldispensing bounty as rain and sunshine. No, no, it seeks not to bereave or destroy the body; it seeks to save the soul by humbling the body, not by imprisonment, or pecuniary mulct, much less by stripes or bonds, or disinheritance, but by fatherly admonishment and Christian rebuke, to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy, and ingenuous bashfulness to sin: if that cannot be wrought, then as a tender mother takes her child and holds it over the pit with scaring words, that it may learn to fear where danger is; so doth excommunication as dearly and as freely, without money, use her wholesome and saving terrours: she is instant, she beseeches, by all



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the dear and ſweet promiſes of ſalvation ſhe entices and woos; by all the threatenings and thunders of the law, and rejected goſpel, ſhe charges, and adjures: this is all her armory, her munition, her artillery; then ſhe awaits with long-ſufferance, and yet ardent zeal. In brief, there is no act in all the errand of God's miniſters to mankind, wherein paſſes more loverlike conteſtation between Chriſt and the ſoul of a regenerate man lapſing, than before, and in, and after the ſentence of excommunication. As for the fogging proctorage of money, with ſuch an eye as ſtruck Gehazi with leproſy, and Simon Magus with a curſe; ſo does ſhe look, and ſo threaten her fiery whip againſt that banking den of thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy and ſell the awful and majeſtic wrinkles of her brow. He that is rightly and apoſtolically ſped with her inviſible arrow, if he can be at peace in his ſoul, and not ſmell within him the brimſtone of Hell, may have fair leave to tell all his bags over undiminiſhed of the leaſt farthing, may eat his dainties, drink his wine, uſe his delights, enjoy his lands and liberties, not the leaſt ſkin raiſed, not the leaſt hair miſplaced, for all that excommunication has done: much more may a king enjoy his rights and prerogatives undeflowered, untouched, and be as abſolute and complete a king, as all his royalties and revenues can make him. And therefore little did Theodoſius fear a plot upon his empire, when he ſtood excommunicate by Saint Ambroſe, though it were done either with much haughty pride, or ignorant zeal. But let us rather look upon the reformed churches beyond the ſeas, the Grizons, the Swiſſes, the Hollanders, the French, that have a ſupremacy to live under as well as we; where do the churches in all theſe places ſtrive for ſupremacy? Where do they claſh and juſtle ſupremacies with the civil magiſtrate? In France, a more ſevere monarchy than ours, the proteſtants under this church-government, carry the name of the beſt ſubjects the king has; and yet preſbytery, if it muſt be ſo called, does there all that it deſires to do: how eaſy were it, if there be ſuch great ſuſpicion, to give no more ſcope to it in England? But let us not, for fear of a ſcarecrow, or elſe

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elſe through hatred to be reformed, ſtand hankering and politizing, when God with ſpread hands teſtifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be ſo overcredulous, unleſs God hath blinded us, as to truſt our dear ſouls into the hands of men that beg ſo devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own backs and bellies, that ſue and ſollicit ſo eagerly, not for the ſaving of ſouls, the conſideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their biſhoprics, deaneries, prebends, and canonries: how can theſe men not be corrupt, whoſe very cauſe is the bribe of their own pleading, whoſe mouths cannot open without the ſtrong breath and loud ſtench of avarice, ſimony, and ſacrilege, embezzling the treaſury of the church on painted and gilded walls of temples, wherein God hath teſtified to have no delight, warming their palace kitchens, and from thence their unctuous and epicurean paunches, with the alms of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orphan, the widow? for with theſe the treaſury of Chriſt ought to be, here muſt be his jewels beſtowed, his rich cabinet muſt be emptied here; as the conſtant martyr Saint Lawrence taught the Roman prætor. Sir, would you know what the remonſtrance of theſe men would have, what their petition implies? They intreat us that we would not be weary of thoſe inſupportable grievances that our ſhoulders have hitherto cracked under, they beſeech us that we would think them fit to be our juſtices of peace, our lords, our higheſt officers of ſtate, though they come furniſhed with no more experience than they learnt between the cook and the manciple, or more profoundly at the college audit, or the regent houſe, or to come to their deepeſt inſight, at their patron's table; they would requeſt us to endure ſtill the ruſtling of their ſilken caſſocs, and that we would burſt our midriffs, rather than laugh to ſee them under ſail in all their lawn and ſarcenet, their ſhrouds and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads: they would bear us in hand that we muſt of duty ſtill appear before them once a year in Jeruſalem, like good circumciſed males and females, to be taxed by the poll, to be ſconced our headmoney, our twopences in their chand-



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lerly ſhopbook of Eaſter. They pray us that it would pleaſe us to let them ſtill hale us, and worry us with their bandogs and purſuivants; and that it would pleaſe the parliament that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and flaying of us in their diabolical courts, to tear the fleſh from our bones, and into our wide wounds inſtead of balm, to pour in the oil of tartar, vitriol, and mercury: ſurely a right reaſonable, innocent, and ſoft-hearted petition. O the relenting bowels of the fathers! Can this be granted them, unleſs God have ſmitten us with frenzy from above, and with a dazzling giddineſs at noonday? Should not thoſe men rather be heard that come to plead againſt their own preferments, their worldly advantages, their own abundance; for honour and obedience to God's word, the converſion of ſouls, the chriſtian peace of the land, and union of the reformed catholic church, the unappropriating and unmonopolizing the rewards of learning and induſtry, from the greaſy clutch of ignorance and high feeding. We have tried already, and miſerably felt what ambition, worldly glory, and immoderate wealth, can do; what the boiſterous and contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly, and corporeal ſpirituality can avail to the edifying of Chriſt's holy church; were it ſuch a deſperate hazard to put to the venture the univerſal votes of Chriſt's congregation, and fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious miniſtry, the paſtorlike and apoſtolic imitation of meek and unlordly diſcipline, the gentle and benevolent mediocrity of church-maintenance, without the ignoble huckſterage of piddling tithes? Were it ſuch an incurable miſchief to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flouriſhing and growing up of Chriſt's myſtical body? as rather to uſe every poor ſhift, and if that ſerve not, to threaten uproar and combuſtion, and ſhake the brand of civil diſcord?

O, ſir, I do now feel myſelf inwrapped on the ſudden into thoſe mazes and labyrinths of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not, unleſs I turn mine eyes, and with your help liſt up my hands to that eternal and propitious Throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge

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to the diſtreſſes of mortal ſuppliants: and it were a ſhame to leave theſe ſerious thoughts leſs piouſly than the heathen were wont to conclude their graver diſcourſes.

Thou, therefore, that ſitteſt in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that loſt remnant whoſe nature thou didſt aſſume, ineffable and everlaſting Love! And thou, the third ſubſiſtence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and ſolace of created things! one Triperſonal godhead! look upon this thy poor and almoſt ſpent and expiring church, leave her not thus a prey to theſe importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; theſe wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hooſs on the ſouls of thy ſervants. O let them not bring about their damned deſigns, that ſtand now at the entrance of the bottomleſs pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out thoſe dreadful locuſts and ſcorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkneſs, where we ſhall never more ſee the ſun of thy truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning ſing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted ſtate of this our ſhaken monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throes, and ſtruggling againſt the grudges of more dreaded calamities.

O thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the ſucceeding ſword of inteſtine war, ſoaking the land in her own gore, didſt pity the ſad and ceaſeleſs revolution of our ſwift and thick-coming ſorrows; when we were quite breathleſs of thy free grace didſt motion peace, and terms of covenant with us; and having firſt wellnigh freed us from antichriſtian thraldom, didſt build up this Britannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter-iſlands about her; ſtay us in this felicity, let not the obſtinacy of our half-obedience and will-worſhip bring forth that viper of ſedition, that for theſe fourſcore years hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her caſt her abortive ſpawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom: that we may ſtill

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remember in our ſolemn thankſgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was ſcattered with the proud ſhipwrecks of the Spaniſh armada, and the very maw of Hell ranſacked, and made to give up her concealed deſtruction, ere ſhe could vent it in that horrible and damned blaſt.

O how much more glorious will thoſe former deliverances appear, when we ſhall know them not only to have ſaved us from greateſt miſeries paſt, but to have reſerved us for greateſt happineſs to come? Hitherto thou haſt but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjuſt and tyrannous claim of thy foes, now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyſelf, tie us everlaſtingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

And now we know, O thou our moſt certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been conſulting all the ſorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that ſad intelligencing tyrant that miſchiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirſting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our ſeas: but let them all take counſel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themſelves, and be ſcattered; let them embattle themſelves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then, amidſt the hymns and hallelujahs of ſaints, ſome one may perhaps be heard offering at high ſtrains in new and lofty meaſures, to ſing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, inſtructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteouſneſs, and caſting far from her the rags of her old vices, may preſs on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the ſobereſt, wiſeſt, and moſt Chriſtian people at that day, when thou, the eternal and ſhortly-expected King, ſhalt open the clouds to judge the ſeveral kingdoms of the world, and diſtributing national honours and rewards to religious and juſt commonwealths, ſhall put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy univerſal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labours,

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labours, counſels, and prayers, have been earneſt for the common good of religion and their country, ſhall receive above the inferiour orders of the bleſſed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in ſupereminence of beatific viſion, progreſſing the dateleſs and irrevoluble circle of eternity, ſhall claſp inſeparable hands with joy and bliſs, in overmeaſure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the diſtreſſes and ſervitude of their country, aſpire to high dignity, rule and promotion here, after a ſhameful end in this life (which God grant them), ſhall be thrown down eternally into the darkeſt and deepeſt gulf of Hell, where, under the deſpiteful control, the trample and ſpurn of all the other damned, that in the anguiſh of their torture, ſhall have no other eaſe than to exerciſe a raving and beſtial tyranny over them as their ſlaves and negroes, they ſhall remain in that plight for ever, the baſeſt, the lowermoſt, the moſt dejected, moſt underfoot, and downtrodden vaſſals of perdition.



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OF

# PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY,

*And whether it may be deduced from the apoſtolical times, by virtue of thoſe teſtimonies which are alleged to that purpoſe in ſome late treatiſes; one whereof goes under the name of James Archbiſhop of Armagh.*

EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an order in the church above a preſbyter, or as we commonly name him, the miniſter of a congregation, is either of divine conſtitution, or of human. If only of human, we have the ſame human privilege that all men have ever had ſince Adam, being born free, and in the miſtreſs iſland of all the Britiſh, to retain this epiſcopacy, or to remove it, conſulting with our own occaſions and conveniencies, and for the prevention of our own dangers and diſquiets, in what beſt manner we can deviſe, without running at a loſs, as we muſt needs in thoſe ſtale and uſeleſs records of either uncertain or unſound antiquity; which, if we hold faſt to the grounds of the reformed church, can neither ſkill of us, nor we of it, ſo oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of tradition. If it be of divine conſtitution, to ſatisfy us fully in that, the ſcripture only is able, it being the only book left us of divine authority, not in any thing more divine than in the allſufficiency it hath to furniſh us, as with all other ſpiritual knowledge, ſo with this in particular, ſetting out to us a perfect man of God, accompliſhed to all the good works of his charge: through all which book can be nowhere, either by plain text or ſolid reaſoning, found any difference between a biſhop and a preſbyter, ſave that they be two names to ſignify the ſame order. Notwithſtanding this clearneſs, and that by all evidence of argument, Timothy and Titus (whom our prelates claim to imitate only in the controlling part of

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of their office) had rather the vicegerency of an apoſtleſhip committed to them, than the ordinary charge of a biſhopric, as being men of an extraordinary calling; yet to verify that which St. Paul foretold of ſucceeding times, when men began to have itching ears, then not contented with the plentiful and wholeſome fountains of the goſpel, they began after their own luſts to heap to themſelves teachers, and as if the divine ſcripture wanted a ſupplement, and were to be eked out, they cannot think any doubt reſolved, and any doctrine confirmed, unleſs they run to that indigeſted heap and fry of authors, which they call antiquity. Whatſoever time, or the heedleſs hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this preſent, in her huge dragnet, whether fiſh or ſea-weed, ſhells, or ſhrubs, unpicked, unchoſen, thoſe are the fathers. Seeing, therefore, ſome men, deeply converſant in books, have had ſo little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, than by divulging needleſs tractates ſtuffed with ſpecious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus; with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to diſtract and ſtagger the multitude of credulous readers, and miſlead them from their ſtrong guards and places of ſafety, under the tuition of holy writ; it came into my thoughts to perſuade myſelf, ſetting all diſtances and nice reſpects aſide, that I could do religion and my country no better ſervice for the time, than doing my utmoſt endeavour to recall the people of God from this vain foraging after ſtraw, and to reduce them to their firm ſtations under the ſtandard of the goſpel; by making appear to them, firſt the inſufficiency, next the inconveniency, and laſtly, the impiety of theſe gay teſtimonies, that their great doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this, I ſhall not ſtrive to be more exact in method, than as their citations lead me.

Firſt, therefore, concerning Ignatius ſhall be treated fully, when the author ſhall come to inſiſt upon ſome places in his epiſtles. Next, to prove a ſucceſſion of twenty-ſeven biſhops from Timothy, he cites one Leontius biſhop of Magneſia, out of the 11th act of the Chalcedonian council: this is but an obſcure and ſingle witneſs, and for his faithful dealing who ſhall commend him

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to us, with this his catalogue of biſhops? What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and falſe a biſhop as Leontius of Antioch, that was a hundred years his predeceſſor? For neither the praiſe of his wiſdom, or his virtue, hath left him memorable to poſterity, but only this doubtful relation, which we muſt take at his word: and how ſhall this teſtimony receive credit from his word, whoſe very name had ſcarce been thought on but for this bare teſtimony? But they will ſay, he was a member of the council, and that may deſerve to gain him credit with us. I will not ſtand to argue, as yet with fair allowance I might, that we may as juſtly ſuſpect there were ſome bad and flippery men in that council, as we know there are wont to be in our convocations: nor ſhall I need to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more ſubtlety brought about, both anciently by other heretics, and modernly by papiſts, than to falſify the editions of the councils, of which we have none, but from our adverſaries hands, whence canons, acts, and whole ſpurious councils are thruſt upon us; and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimate, againſt the lawful rejection of an urgent and free diſputer. But this I purpoſe not to take advantage of; for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of councils, whenas we know that many years ere this time, which was almoſt five hundred years after Chriſt, the councils themſelves were foully corrupted with ungodly prelatiſm, and ſo far plunged into worldly ambition, as that it ſtood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well taſted hierarchy by what fair pretext ſoever they could, in like manner as they had now learned to defend many other groſs corruptions by as ancient, and ſuppoſed authentic tradition as epiſcopacy? And what hope can we have of this whole council to warrant us a matter, four hundred years at leaſt above their time, concerning the diſtinction of biſhop and preſbyter, whenas we find them ſuch blind judges of things before their eyes, in their decrees of precedency between biſhop and biſhop, acknowledging Rome for the apoſtolic throne, and Peter, in that ſee, for the rock, the baſis, and the foundation of the catholic church and faith, contrary to the interpretation of more ancient

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ancient fathers? And therefore from a miſtaken text did they give to Leo, as Peter's ſucceſſor, a kind of preeminence above the whole council, as Euagrius expreſſes (for now the pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himſelf by his vicars incompetible honours) and yet having thus yielded to Rome, the univerſal primacy for ſpiritual reaſons, as they thought, they conclude their ſitting with a carnal and ambitious decree, to give the ſecond place of dignity to Conſtantinople from reaſon of ſtate, becauſe it was New Rome; and by like conſequence doubtleſs of earthly privileges annexed to each other city, was the biſhop thereof to take his place.

I may ſay again therefore, what hope can we have of ſuch a council, as, beginning in the ſpirit, ended thus in the fleſh? Much rather ſhould we attend to what Euſebius, the ancienteſt writer extant of church-hiſtory, notwithſtanding all the helps he had above theſe, confeſſes in the 4th chapter of his third book, That it was no eaſy matter to tell who were thoſe that were left biſhops of the churches by the apoſtles, more than by what a man might gather from the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles of St. Paul, in which number he reckons Timothy for biſhop of Epheſus. So as may plainly appear, that this tradition of biſhoping Timothy over Epheſus was but taken for granted out of that place in St. Paul, which was only an intreating him to tarry at Epheſus, to do ſomething left him in charge. Now, if Euſebius, a famous writer, thought it ſo difficult to tell who were appointed biſhops by the apoſtles, much more may we think it difficult to Leontius, an obſcure biſhop, ſpeaking beyond his own dioceſs: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of biſhops theſe were, if they had ſo little means to know who they were; and much leſs reaſon have we to ſtand to their definitive ſentence, ſeeing they have been ſo raſh to raiſe up ſuch lofty biſhops and biſhoprics out of places in ſcripture merely miſunderſtood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gad after the traditions of the ancients, we hear the ancients themſelves confeſſing, that what knowledge they had in this point was ſuch as they had gathered from the Bible.

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Since therefore, antiquity itſelf hath turned over the controverſy to that ſovereign book which we had fondly ſtraggled from, we ſhall do better not to detain this venerable apparition of Leontius any longer, but diſmiſs him with his liſt of ſeven and twenty, to ſleep unmoleſted in his former obſcurity.

Now for the word προεστὼς, it is more likely that Timothy never knew the word in that ſenſe: it was the vanity of thoſe next ſucceeding times not to content themſelves with the ſimplicity of ſcripture-phraſe, but muſt make a new lexicon to name themſelves by; one will be called προεστὼς, or antiſtes, a word of precedence; another would be termed a gnoſtic, as Clemens; a third ſacerdos, or prieſt, and talks of altars; which was a plain ſign that their doctrine began to change, for which they muſt change their expreſſions. But that place of Juſtin Martyr ſerves rather to convince the author, than to make for him, where the name προεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, the preſident or paſtor of the brethren (for to what end is he their preſident, but to teach them?) cannot be limited to ſignify a prelatical biſhop, but rather communicates that greek appellation to every ordinary preſbyter: for there he tells what the chriſtians had wont to do in their ſeveral congregations, to read and expound, to pray and adminiſter, all which he ſays the προεστὼς, or antiſtes, did. Are theſe the offices only of a biſhop, or ſhall we think that every congregation where theſe things were done, which he attributes to this antiſtes, had a biſhop preſent among them? Unleſs they had as many antiſtites as preſbyters, which this place rather ſeems to imply; and ſo we may infer even from their own alleged authority, "that antiſtes was nothing elſe but preſbyter."

As for that nameleſs treatiſe of Timothy's martyrdom, only cited by Photius that lived almoſt nine hundred years after Chriſt, it handſomely follows in that author the martyrdom of the ſeven ſleepers, that ſlept (I tell you but what mine author ſays) three hundred and ſeventy and two years; for ſo long they had been ſhut up in a cave without meat, and were found living. This ſtory of Timothy's epheſian biſhopric, as it follows in order, ſo may it for truth, if it only ſubſiſt upon its own authority, as it doth;

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doth; for Photius only saith he read it, he does not aver it. That other legendary piece found among the lives of the saints, and sent us from the shop of the jesuits at Louvain, does but bear the name of Polycrates; how truly, who can tell? and shall have some more weight with us, when Polycrates can persuade us of that which he affirms in the same place of Eusebius's fifth book, that St. John was a priest, and wore the golden breastplate: and why should he convince us more with his traditions of Timothy's episcopacy, than he could convince Victor bishop of Rome with his traditions concerning the feast of Easter, who, not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from Philip and his daughters that were prophetesses, or from Polycarpus, no nor from St. John himself, excommunicated both him, and all the asian churches, for celebrating their Easter judaically? He may therefore go back to the seven bishops his kinsmen, and make his moan to them, that we esteem his traditional ware as lightly as Victor did.

Those of Theodoret, Felix, and John of Antioch, are authorities of later times, and therefore not to be received for their antiquity's sake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherein writers, so much their elders, we see so easily miscarry. What if they had told us that Peter, who, as they say, left Ignatius bishop of Antioch, went afterwards to Rome, and was bishop there, as this Ignatius, and Irenæus, and all antiquity with one mouth deliver? there be nevertheless a number of learned and wise protestants, who have written, and will maintain, that Peter's being at Rome as bishop cannot stand with concordance of scripture.

Now come the epistles of Ignatius to show us, first, that Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus; next, to assert the difference of bishop and presbyter: wherein I wonder that men, teachers of the protestant religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our belief a suppositious offspring of some dozen epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them heresies and trifles; which cannot agree in chronology with Ignatius, entitling him archbishop of Antioch Theopolis, which name of Theopolis that city had not till Justinian's time, long after, as



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Cedrenus mentions; which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskilful fraud of him that foisted this epistle upon Ignatius. In the epistle to those of Tarsus, he condemns them for ministers of Satan, that say, "Christ is God above all." To the Philippians, them that kept their Easter as the asian churches, as Polycarpus did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday or Sunday, except one, he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of Antioch, he salutes the subdeacons, chanters, porters, and exorcists, as if these had been orders of the church in his time: those other epistles less questioned, are yet so interlarded with corruptions, as may justly endue as with a wholesome suspicion of the rest. As to the Trallians, he writes, that "a bishop hath power over all beyond all government and authority whatsoever." Surely then no pope can desire more than Ignatius attributes to every bishop; but what will become then of the archbishops and primates, if every bishop in Ignatius's judgment be as supreme as a pope? To the Ephesians, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the epistle; "Let no man err;" saith he; "unless a man be within the rays or enclosure of the altar, he is deprived of the bread of life." I say not but this may be stretched to a figurative construction; but yet it has an ill look, especially being followed beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other epistle to Smyrna, wherein is written that "they should follow their bishop as Christ did his Father, and the presbytery as the apostles;" not to speak of the insulse, and ill laid comparison, this cited place lies upon the very brim of a noted corruption, which, had they that quote this passage ventured to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had been of, where it is said, "that it is not lawful without a bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do sacrifice." What can our church make of these phrases but scandalous? And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the spirit of God in Solomon, judged by the words themselves; "My son," saith he, "honour God and the King; but I say, honour God, and the bishop as high-

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prieſt, bearing the image of God according to his ruling, and of Chriſt according to his prieſting, and after him honour the king." Excellent Ignatius! can ye blame the prelates for making much of this epiſtle? Certainly, if this epiſtle can ſerve you to ſet a biſhop above a preſbyter, it may ſerve you next to ſet him above a king. Theſe, and other like places in abundance through all thoſe ſhort epiſtles, muſt either be adulterate, or elſe Ignatius was not Ignatius, nor a martyr, but moſt adulterate, and corrupt himſelf. In the midſt, therefore, of ſo many forgeries, where ſhall we fix to dare ſay this is Ignatius? As for his ſtyle, who knows it, ſo disfigured and interrupted as it is? except they think that where they meet with any thing ſound, and orthodoxal, there they find Ignatius. And then they believe him not for his own authority, but for a truth's ſake, which they derive from elſewhere: to what end then ſhould they cite him as authentic for epiſcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might ſafely learn from him? How can they bring ſatisfaction from ſuch an author, to whoſe very eſſence the reader muſt be fain to contribute his own underſtanding? Had God ever intended that we ſhould have ſought any part of uſeful inſtruction from Ignatius, doubtleſs he would not have ſo ill provided for our knowledge, as to ſend him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no ſuch thing, we do injuriouſly in thinking to taſte better the pure evangelic manna, by ſeaſoning our mouths with the tainted ſcraps and fragments of an unknown table; and ſearching among the verminous and polluted rags dropped overworn from the toiling ſhoulders of time, with theſe deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the ſpotleſs, and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter not of time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in chriſtian hearts, between two grave and holy nurſes, the doctrine and diſcipline of the goſpel.

Next follows Irenæus biſhop of Lyons, who is cited to affirm, that Polycarpus "was made biſhop of Smyrna by the apoſtles;" and this, it may ſeem, none could better tell than he who had both ſeen and heard Polycarpus:



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but when did he hear him? Himſelf confeſſes to Florinus, when he was a boy. Whether that age in Irenæus may not be liable to many miſtakings; and whether a boy may be truſted to take an exact account of the manner of a church conſtitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of commiſſion Polycarpus received his charge, let a man conſider, ere he be credulous. It will not be denied that he might have ſeen Polycarpus in his youth, a man of great eminence in the church, to whom the other preſbyters might give way for his virtue, wiſdom, and the reverence of his age; and ſo did Anicetus, biſhop of Rome, even in his own city, give him a kind of priority in adminiſtering the ſacrament, as may be read in Euſebius: but that we ſhould hence conclude a diſtinct, and ſuperior order from the young obſervation of Irenæus, nothing yet alleged can warrant us; unleſs we ſhall believe ſuch as would face us down, that Calvin and, after him, Beza were biſhops of Geneva, becauſe that in the unſettled ſtate of the church, while things were not fully compoſed, their worth and learning caſt a greater ſhare of buſineſs upon them, and directed men's eyes principally towards them: and yet theſe men were the diſſolvers of epiſcopacy. We ſee the ſame neceſſity in ſtate affairs; Brutus, that expelled the kings out of Rome, was for the time forced to be as it were a king himſelf, till matters were ſet in order, as in a free commonwealth. He that had ſeen Pericles lead the Athenians which way he liſted, haply would have ſaid he had been their prince; and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent man in a democracy, and had no more at any time than a temporary and elective ſway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is moſt likely that in the church, they which came after theſe apoſtolic men, being leſs in merit, but bigger in ambition, ſtrove to invade thoſe privileges by intruſion and plea of right, which Polycarpus, and others like him poſſeſſed, from the voluntary ſurrender of men ſubdued by the excellency of their heavenly gifts; which becauſe their ſucceſſors had not, and ſo could neither have that authority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which Polycarpus and his

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equals enjoyed, was by right of conſtitution, not by free will of condeſcending. And yet thus far Irenæus makes againſt them, as in that very place to call Polycarpus an apoſtolical preſbyter. But what fidelity his relations had in general, we cannot ſooner learn than by Euſebius, who, near the end of his third book, ſpeaking of Papias, a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had ſeen and been acquainted with others of the apoſtles, but being of a ſhallow wit, and not underſtanding thoſe traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines, and fabulous conceits: he tells us there, that "divers eccleſiaſtical men, and Irenæus among the reſt, while they looked at his antiquity, became infected with his errours." Now, if Irenæus was ſo raſh as to take unexamined opinions from an author of ſo ſmall capacity, when he was a man, we ſhould be more raſh ourſelves to rely upon thoſe obſervations which he made when he was a boy. And this may be a ſufficient reaſon to us why we need no longer muſe at the ſpreading of many idle traditions ſo ſoon after the apoſtles, while ſuch as this Papias had the throwing them about, and the inconſiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the perſon than the doctrine, had the gathering them up. Wherever a man, who had been any way converſant with the apoſtles, was to be found, thither flew all the inquiſitive ears, although the exerciſe of right inſtructing was changed into the curioſity of impertinent fabling: where the mind was to be edified with ſolid doctrine, there the fancy was ſoothed with ſolemn ſtories: with leſs fervency was ſtudied what St. Paul or St. John had written, than was liſtened to one that could ſay, Here he taught, here he ſtood, this was his ſtature; and thus he went habited; and, O happy this houſe that harboured him, and that cold ſtone whereon he reſted, this village wherein he wrought ſuch a miracle, and that pavement bedewed with the warm effuſion of his laſt blood, that ſprouted up into eternal roſes to crown his martyrdom. Thus, while all their thoughts were poured out upon circumſtances, and the gazing after ſuch men as had ſat at table with the apoſtles (many of which Chriſt hath profeſſed, yea, though they had caſt out devils in his name, he will not know at the laſt



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day), by this means they loſt their time, and truanted in the fundamental grounds of ſaving knowledge, as was ſeen ſhortly by their writings. Laſtly, for Irenæus, we have cauſe to think him leſs judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the apoſtles did, when we find him ſo negligent in keeping the faith which they wrote, as to ſay in his third book againſt hereſies, that "the obedience of Mary was the cauſe of ſalvation to herſelf and all mankind;" and in his fifth book, that "as Eve was ſeduced to fly God, ſo the virgin Mary was perſuaded to obey God, that the virgin Mary might be made the advocate of the virgin Eve." Thus if Irenæus, for his nearneſs to the apoſtles, muſt be the patron of epiſcopacy to us, it is no marvel though he be the patron of idolatry to the papiſt, for the ſame cauſe. To the epiſtle of thoſe brethren of Smyrna, that write the martyrdom of Polycarpus, and ſtyle him an apoſtolical and prophetical doctor, and biſhop of the church of Smyrna, I could be content to give ſome credit for the great honour and affection which I ſee thoſe brethren bear him; and not undeſervedly, if it be true, which they there ſay, that he was a prophet, and had a voice from Heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could hear, but the reſt could not for the noiſe and tumult that was in the place; and beſides, if his body were ſo precious to the chriſtians, that he was never wont to pull off his ſhoes for one or other that ſtill ſtrove to have the office, that they might come in to touch his feet; yet a light ſcruple or two I would gladly be reſolved in: if Polycarpus (who, as they ſay, was a prophet that never failed in what he foretold) had declared to his friends, that he knew, by viſion, he ſhould die no other death than burning, how it came to paſs that the fire, when it came to proof, would not do his work, but ſtarting off like a full ſail from the maſt, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling ſuch a ſweet odour, as if all the incenſe of Arabia had been burning; inſomuch that when the billmen ſaw that the fire was overawed, and could not do the deed, one of them ſteps to him and ſtabs him with a ſword, at which wound ſuch abundance of blood guſhed forth as quenched the fire. By all this relation it appears not how the fire was guilty

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guilty of his death, and then how can his prophecy be fulfilled? Next, how the ſtanders-by could be ſo ſoon weary of ſuch a glorious ſight, and ſuch a fragrant ſmell, as to haſten the executioner to put out the fire with the martyr's blood; unleſs perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the ſmoak would be more odorous than the flame: yet theſe good brethren ſay he was biſhop of Smyrna. No man queſtions it, if biſhop and preſbyter were anciently all one, and how does it appear by any thing in this teſtimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of prophetical, apoſtolical, and moſt admired of thoſe times, he be alſo ſtyled biſhop of the church of Smyrna in a kind of ſpeech, which the rhetoricians call κατ' ἐξοχήν, for his excellence ſake, as being the moſt famous of all the Smyrnian preſbyters; it cannot be proved neither from this nor that other place of Irenæus, that he was therefore in diſtinct and monarchical order above the other preſbyters; it is more probable, that if the whole preſbytery had been as renowned as he, they would have termed every one of them ſeverally biſhop of Smyrna. Hence it is, that we read ſometimes of two biſhops in one place; and had all the preſbyters there been of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accoſts us next, (for Polycrates hath had his anſwer) whoſe teſtimony, ſtate but the queſtion right, is of no more force to deduce epiſcopacy, than the two former. He ſays, that the church of Smyrna had Polycarpus placed there by John, and the church of Rome, Clement ordained by Peter; and ſo the reſt of the churches did ſhow what biſhops they had received by the appointment of the apoſtles. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the ſcripture that biſhops or preſbyters, which were the ſame, were left by the apoſtles in every church, and they might perhaps give ſome ſpecial charge to Clement, or Polycarpus, or Linus, and put ſome ſpecial truſt in them for the experience they had of their faith and conſtancy; it remains yet to be evinced out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word biſhop is otherwiſe taken, than in the language of St. Paul and The Acts, for an order above preſbyters.



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We grant them biſhops, we grant them worthy men, we grant them placed in ſeveral churches by the apoſtles; we grant that Irenæus and Tertullian affirm this, but that they were placed in a ſuperior order above the preſbytery, ſhow from all theſe words why we ſhould grant. It is not enough to ſay the apoſtle left this man biſhop in Rome, and that other in Epheſus, but to ſhow when they altered their own decree ſet down by St. Paul, and made all the preſbyters underlings to one biſhop. But ſuppoſe Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally, ſhould he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between God the Father, and God the Son, as theſe words import in his book againſt Praxeas? "The Father is the whole ſubſtance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himſelf profeſſes, becauſe the Father is greater than me." Believe him now for a faithful relater of tradition, whom you ſee ſuch an unfaithful expounder of the ſcripture: beſides, in his time, all allowable tradition was now loſt. For this ſame author, whom you bring to teſtify the ordination of Clement to the biſhopric of Rome by Peter, teſtifies alſo, in the beginning of his treatiſe concerning chaſtity, that the biſhop of Rome did then uſe to ſend forth his edicts by the name of Pontifex Maximus, and Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum, chief prieſt, and biſhop of biſhops; for ſhame then do not urge that authority to keep up a biſhop, that will neceſſarily engage you to ſet up a pope. As little can your advantage be from Hegeſippus, an hiſtorian of the ſame time, not extant, but cited by Euſebius: his words are, that "in every city all things ſo ſtood in his time as the law, and the prophets, and our Lord, did preach." If they ſtood ſo, then ſtood not biſhops above preſbyters; for what our Lord and his diſciples taught, God be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him; and you may as well hope to perſuade us out of the ſame author, that James the brother of our Lord was a Nazarite, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the holy of holies; that his food was not upon any thing that had life, fiſh or fleſh; that he uſed no woollen garments, but only linen, and ſo as he trifles on.

If therefore the tradition of the church were now grown

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ſo ridiculous, and diſconſenting from the doctrine of the apoſtles, even in thoſe points which were of leaſt moment to men's particular ends, how well may we be aſſured it was much more degenerated in point of epiſcopacy and precedency, things which could afford ſuch plauſible pretences, ſuch commodious traverſes for ambition and avarice to lurk behind?

As for thoſe Britain biſhops which you cite, take heed what you do; for our Britain biſhops, leſs ancient than theſe, were remarkable for nothing more than their poverty, as Sulpitius Severus and Beda can remember you of examples good ſtore.

Laſtly, (for the fabulous Metaphraſtes is not worth an anſwer,) that authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is not to be found in all his works; and wherever it be extant, it is in controverſy, whether it be Clement's or no; or if it were, it ſays only that Saint John in ſome places conſtituted biſhops: queſtionleſs he did, but where does Clemens ſay he ſet them above preſbyters? No man will gainſay the conſtitution of biſhops: but the raiſing them to a ſuperior and diſtinct order above preſbyters, ſeeing the goſpel makes them one and the ſame thing, a thouſand ſuch allegations as theſe will not give prelatical epiſcopacy one chapel of eaſe above a pariſh church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot ſay rather than petty fog of witneſſes, with which epiſcopal men would caſt a miſt before us, to deduce their exalted epiſcopacy from apoſtolic times. Now, although, as all men well know, it be the wonted ſhift of errour, and fond opinion, when they find themſelves outlawed by the Bible, and forſaken of ſound reaſon, to betake them with all ſpeed to their old ſtarting-hole of tradition, and that wild and overgrown covert of antiquity, thinking to farm there at large room, and fine good ſtabling, yet thus much their own deified antiquity betrays them to inform us, that tradition hath had very ſeldom or never the gift of perſuaſion; as that which church hiſtories report of thoſe eaſt and weſtern paſchaliſts, formerly ſpoken of, will declare. Who would have thought that Polycarpus on the one ſide could have erred in what he ſaw St. John do, or Anicetus biſhop of Rome on the other ſide, in what he or ſome of



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his friends might pretend to have seen St. Peter or St. Paul do; and yet neither of these could persuade either when to keep Easter? The like frivolous contention troubled the primitive English churches, while Colmanus and Wilfride on either side deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of Saint John, and the learned bishop Anatolius, and lastly the miraculous Columba, the other from Saint Peter and the Nicene council; could gain no ground each of other, till king Oswy, perceiving no likelihood of ending the controversy that way, was fain to decide it himself, good king, with that small knowledge wherewith those times had furnished him. So when those pious Greek emperors began, as Cedrenus relates, to put down monks, and abolish images, the old idolaters, finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the scripture, sent out their sturdy monks called the Abramites, to allege for images the ancient fathers Dionysius, and this our objected Irenæus: nay, they were so highflown in their antiquity, that they undertook to bring the apostles, and Luke the evangelist, yea Christ himself, from certain records that were then current, to patronize their idolatry: yet for all this the worthy emperor Theophilus, even in those dark times, chose rather to nourish himself and his people with the sincere milk of the gospel, than to drink from the mixed confluence of so many corrupt and poisonous waters, as tradition would have persuaded him to, by most ancient seeming authorities. In like manner all the reformed churches abroad, unthroning episcopacy, doubtless were not ignorant of these testimonies alleged to draw it in a line from the apostles' days: for surely the author will not think he hath brought us now any new authorities or considerations into the world, which the reformers in other places were not advised of: and yet we see, the intercession of all these apostolic fathers could not prevail with them to alter their resolved decree of reducing into order their usurping and overprovendered episcopants; and God hath blessed their work this hundred years with a prosperous and stedfast, and still happy success. And this may serve to prove the insufficiency of these present episcopal testimonies, not only in themselves

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ſelves but in the account of thoſe ever that have been the followers of truth. It will next behove us to conſider the inconvenience we fall into, by uſing ourſelves to be guided by theſe kind of teſtimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well-learned man to have read diligently the ancient ſtories of the church, and to be no ſtranger in the volumes of the fathers, ſhall have all judicious men conſenting with him; not hereby to control, and new fangle the ſcripture, God forbid! but to mark how corruption and apoſtaſy crept in by degrees, and to gather up wherever we find the remaining ſparks of original truth, wherewith to ſtop the mouths of our adverſaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly paſs by that which is orthodoxal in them, and ſtudiouſly cull out that which is commentitious, and beſt for their turns, not weighing the fathers in the balance of ſcripture, but ſcripture in the balance of the fathers. If we, therefore, making firſt the goſpel our rule and oracle, ſhall take the good which we light on in the fathers, and ſet it to oppoſe the evil which other men ſeek from them, in this way of ſkirmiſh we ſhall eaſily maſter all ſuperſtition and falſe doctrine; but if we turn this our diſcreet and wary uſage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatſoever we find written by them; we both forſake our own grounds and reaſons which led us at firſt to part from Rome, that is, to hold to the ſcriptures againſt all antiquity; we remove our cauſe into our adverſaries' own court, and take up there thoſe caſt principles, which will ſoon cauſe us to ſoder up with them again; inaſmuch as believing antiquity for itſelf in any one point, we bring an engagement upon ourſelves of aſſenting to all that it charges upon us. For ſuppoſe we ſhould now, neglecting that which is clear in ſcripture, that a biſhop and preſbyter is all one both in name and office, and that what was done by Timothy and Titus, executing an extraordinary place, as fellow-labourers with the apoſtles, and of a univerſal charge in planting chriſtianity through divers regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily example; ſuppoſe that neglecting this clearneſs of the text, we ſhould, by the uncertain and corrupted writings of ſucceeding times, determine that biſhop and preſbyter are different,

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becauſe we dare not deny what Ignatius, or rather the Perkin Warbeck of Ignatius, ſays; then muſt we be conſtrained to take upon ourſelves a thouſand ſuperſtitions and falſities, which the papiſts will prove us down in, from as good authorities, and as ancient as theſe that ſet a biſhop above a preſbyter. And the plain truth is, that when any of our men, of thoſe that are wedded to antiquity, come to diſpute with a papiſt, and leaving the ſcriptures put themſelves without appeal to the ſentence of ſynods and councils, uſing in the cauſe of Sion the hired ſoldiery of revolted Iſrael; where they give the Romaniſts one buff, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true biſhop ſhould be afraid to conquer in his cauſe by ſuch authorities as theſe, which if we admit for the authority's ſake, we open a broad paſſage for a multitude of doctrines, that have no ground in ſcripture, to break in upon us.

Laſtly, I do not know, it being undeniable that there are but two eccleſiaſtical orders, biſhops and deacons, mentioned in the goſpel, how it can be leſs than impiety to make a demur at that, which is there ſo perſpicuous, confronting and paralleling the ſacred verity of St. Paul with the offals and ſweepings of antiquity, that met as accidentally and abſurdly, as Epicurus's atoms, to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius, inclining rather to make this phantaſm an expounder, or indeed a depraver of St. Paul, than St. Paul an examiner, and diſcoverer of this impoſtorſhip; nor caring how ſlightly they put off the verdict of holy text unſalved, that ſays plainly there be but two orders, ſo they maintain the reputation of their imaginary doctor that proclaims three. Certainly if Chriſt's apoſtle have ſet down but two, then according to his own words, though he himſelf ſhould unſay it, and not only the angel of Smyrna, but an angel from Heaven, ſhould bear us down that there be three, Saint Paul has doomed him twice, "Let him be accurſed;" for Chriſt hath pronounced that no tittle of his word ſhall fall to the ground; and if one jot be alterable, it is as poſſible that all ſhould periſh: and this ſhall be our righteouſneſs, our ample warrant, and ſtrong aſſurance, both now and at the laſt day, never to be aſhamed of, againſt all the heaped

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heaped names of angels and martyrs, councils and fathers, urged upon us, if we have given ourſelves up to be taught by the pure and living precept of God's word only; which, without more additions, nay with a forbidding of them, hath within itſelf the promiſe of eternal life, the end of all our weariſome labours, and all our ſuſtaining hopes. But if any ſhall ſtrive to ſet up his ephod and teraphim of antiquity againſt the brightneſs and perfection of the goſpel; let him fear leſt he and his Baal be turned into Bothſheth. And thus much may ſuffice to ſhow, that the pretended epiſcopacy cannot be deduced from the apoſtolical times.

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# REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT

URGED AGAINST

# PRELATY.

## IN TWO BOOKS.

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## THE PREFACE.

In the publiſhing of human laws, which for the moſt part aim not beyond the good of civil ſociety, to ſet them barely forth to the people without reaſon or preface, like a phyſical preſcript, or only with threatenings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgment of Plato was thought to be done neither generouſly nor wiſely. His advice was, ſeeing that perſuaſion certainly is a more winning, and more manlike way to keep men in obedience than fear, that to ſuch laws as were of principal moment, there ſhould be uſed as an induction ſome well tempered diſcourſe, ſhowing how good, how gainful, how happy it muſt needs be to live according to honeſty and juſtice; which being uttered with thoſe native colours and graces of ſpeech, as true eloquence, the daughter of virtue, can beſt beſtow upon her mother's praiſes, would ſo incite, and in a manner charm, the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to embrace it ever after, not of cuſtom and awe, which moſt men do, but of choice and purpoſe, with true and conſtant delight. But this practice we may learn from a better and more ancient authority than any heathen

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heathen writer hath to give us; and indeed being a point of so high wisdom and worth, how could it be but we should find it in that book, within whose sacred context all wisdom is unfolded? Moses, therefore, the only lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write laws to men whose hearts were not first seasoned with the knowledge of God and of his works, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his laws; which Josephus right well hath noted: that the nation of the Jews, reading therein the universal goodness of God to all creatures in the creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of Abraham their ancestor from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be moved to obey sincerely, by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then, in the administration of civil justice, and under the obscurity of ceremonial rites, such care was had by the wisest of the heathen, and by Moses among the Jews, to instruct them at least in a general reason of that government to which their subjection was required; how much more ought the members of the church, under the Gospel, seek to inform their understanding in the reason of that government, which the church claims to have over them? Especially for that church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind, where the seat of reason is having power to examine our spiritual knowledge, and to demand from us, in God's behalf, a service entirely reasonable. But because about the manner and order of this government, whether it ought to be presbyterial or prelatical, such endless question, or rather uproar, is arisen in this land, as may be justly termed what the fever is to the physicians, the eternal reproach of our divines, whilst other profound clerks of late greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of prelaty, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian proconsular Asia, to make good the prime metropolis of Ephesus, as if some of our prelates in all haste meant to change their soil, and become neighbours to the English bishop of Chalcedon; and whilst good Breerwood as busily bestirs himself in our vulgar tongue, to divide precisely the three patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; and whether to any of

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theſe England doth belong: I ſhall in the mean while not ceaſe to hope, through the mercy and grace of Chriſt, the head and huſband of his church, that England ſhortly is to belong, neither to ſee patriarchal, nor ſee prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and diſciplining of that miniſterial order, which the bleſſed apoſtles conſtituted throughout the churches; and this I ſhall aſſay to prove, can be no other than that of preſbyters and deacons. And if any man incline to think I undertake a taſk too difficult for my years; I truſt, through the ſupreme enlightening aſſiſtance far otherwiſe; for my years, be they few or many, what imports it? So they bring reaſon, let that be looked on: and for the taſk, from hence that the queſtion in hand is ſo needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner capacity, and contains in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reached out to us by the goſpel, I conclude the taſk muſt be eaſy: God having to this end ordained his goſpel to be the revelation of his power and wiſdom in Chriſt Jeſus. And this is one depth of his wiſdom, that he could ſo plainly reveal ſo great a meaſure of it to the groſs diſtorted apprehenſion of decayed mankind. Let others, therefore, dread and ſhun the ſcriptures for their darkneſs; I ſhall wiſh I may deſerve to be reckoned among thoſe who admire and dwell upon them for their clearneſs. And this ſeems to be the cauſe why in thoſe places of holy writ, wherein is treated of church-government, the reaſons thereof are not formally and profeſſedly ſet down, becauſe to him that heeds attentively the drift and ſcope of chriſtian profeſſion, they eaſily imply themſelves; which thing further to explain, having now prefaced enough, I ſhall no longer defer.

## CHAP. I.

*That church-government is preſcribed in the goſpel, and that to ſay otherwiſe is unſound.*

THE firſt and greateſt reaſon of church-government we may ſecurely, with the aſſent of many on the adverſe part, affirm to be, becauſe we find it ſo ordained and ſet out to us by the appointment of God in the ſcriptures; but whether

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ther this be preſbyterial, or prelatical, it cannot be brought to the ſcanning, until I have ſaid what is meet to ſome who do not think it for the eaſe of their inconſequent opinions, to grant that church-diſcipline is platformed in the Bible, but that it is left to the diſcretion of men. To this conceit of theirs I anſwer, that it is both unſound and untrue; for there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, than is diſcipline. What need I inſtance? He that hath read with judgment, of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, ſea and land, will readily agree that the flouriſhing and decaying of all civil ſocieties, all the moments and turnings of human occaſions, are moved to and fro as upon the axle of diſcipline. So that whatſoever power or ſway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durſt with more confidence (the honour of divine providence ever ſaved) aſcribe either to the vigour or the ſlackneſs of diſcipline. Nor is there any ſociable perfection in this life, civil or ſacred, that can be above diſcipline; but ſhe is that which with her muſical cords preſerves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in thoſe perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon, and Scipio in the Roman ſtories, the excellence of military ſkill was eſteemed, not by the not needing, but by the readieſt ſubmitting to the edicts of their commander. And certainly diſcipline is not only the removal of diſorder; but if any viſible ſhape can be given to divine things, the very viſible ſhape and image of virtue, whereby ſhe is not only ſeen in the regular geſtures and motions of her heavenly paces as ſhe walks, but alſo makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the angels themſelves, in whom no diſorder is feared, as the apoſtle that ſaw them in his rapture deſcribes, are diſtinguiſhed and quaternioned into their celeſtial princedoms and ſatrapies, according as God himſelf has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of Heaven. The ſtate alſo of the bleſſed in Paradiſe, though never ſo perfect, is not therefore left without diſcipline, whoſe golden ſurveying reed marks out and meaſures every quarter and circuit of New Jeruſalem. Yet



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is it not to be conceived, that thoſe eternal effluences of ſanctity and love in the glorified ſaints ſhould by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is preſcribed, but that our happineſs may orb itſelf into a thouſand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity; how much leſs can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, though not leſs beloved church here below, to the perpetual ſtumble of conjecture and diſturbance in this our dark voyage, without the card and compaſs of diſcipline? Which is ſo hard to be of man's making, that we may ſee even in the guidance of a civil ſtate to worldly happineſs, it is not for every learned, or every wiſe man, though many of them conſult in common, to invent or frame a diſcipline: but if it be at all the work of man, it muſt be of ſuch a one as is a true knower of himſelf, and in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence, muſt be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden cauſes of things, and ſpan in his thoughts all the various effects, that paſſion or complexion can work in man's nature; and hereto muſt his hand be at defiance with gain, and his heart in all virtues heroic; ſo far is it from the ken of theſe wretched projectors of ours, that beſcrawl their pamphlets every day with new forms of government for our church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly inſpired, as Moſes, or were ſuch men as with authority enough might give it out to be ſo, as Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, becauſe they wiſely forethought that men would never quietly ſubmit to ſuch a diſcipline as had not more of God's hand in it than man's. To come within the narrowneſs of houſehold government, obſervation will ſhow us many deep counſellors of ſtate and judges to demean themſelves incorruptly in the ſettled courſe of affairs, and many worthy preachers upright in their lives, powerful in their audience: but look upon either of theſe men where they are left to their own diſciplining at home, and you ſhall ſoon perceive, for all their ſingle knowledge and uprightneſs, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family; not only in

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in what may concern the virtuous and decent compoſure of their minds in their ſeveral places, but that which is of a lower and eaſier performance, the right poſſeſſing of the outward veſſel, their body, in health or ſickneſs, reſt or labour, diet or abſtinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the ſoul, and uſeful to the commonwealth: which if men were but as good to diſcipline themſelves, as ſome are to tutor their horſes and hawks, it could not be ſo groſs in moſt houſeholds. If then it appear ſo hard, and ſo little known how to govern a houſe well, which is thought of ſo eaſy diſcharge, and for every man's undertaking; what ſkill of man, what wiſdom, what parts can be ſufficient to give laws and ordinances to the elect houſehold of God? If we could imagine that he had left it at random without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he ſo arrogant, ſo preſumptuous, that durſt diſpoſe and guide the living ark of the Holy Ghoſt, though he ſhould find it wandering in the field of Beth-ſhemeſh, without the conſcious warrant of ſome high calling? But no profane inſolence can parallel that which our prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageouſly, and ſhatter the holy ark of the church, not borne upon their ſhoulders with pains and labour in the word, but drawn with rude oxen their officials, and their own brute inventions. Let them make ſhows of reforming while they will, ſo long as the church is mounted upon the prelatical cart, and not as it ought, between the hands of the miniſters, it will but ſhake and totter; and he that ſets to his hand, though with a good intent to hinder the ſhogging of it, in this unlawful waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to Uzza. Certainly if God be the father of his family the church, wherein could he expreſs that name more, than in training it up under his own allwiſe and dear economy, not turning it looſe to the havoc of ſtrangers and wolves, that would aſk no better plea than this, to do in the church of Chriſt whatever humour, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to?. Again, if Chriſt be the Church's huſband, expecting her to be preſented before him a pure unſpotted virgin; in what could he ſhow his tender love to her more, than in preſcribing his own



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ways, which he beſt knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty, with much greater care doubtleſs, than the Perſian king could appoint for his queen Eſther thoſe maiden dietings and ſet preſcriptions of baths and odours, which may render her at laſt more amiable to his eye? For of any age or ſex, moſt unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary education. Yea, though ſhe be well inſtructed, yet is ſhe ſtill under a more ſtrait tuition, eſpecially if betrothed. In like manner the church bearing the ſame reſemblance, it were not reaſon to think ſhe ſhould be left deſtitute of that care, which is as neceſſary and proper to her as inſtruction. For public preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit, working as beſt ſeems to his ſecret will; but diſcipline is the practic work of preaching directed and applied, as is moſt requiſite, to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of ſouls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the phyſicians in London ſhould get into the ſeveral pulpits of the city, and aſſembling all the diſeaſed in every pariſh, ſhould begin a learned lecture of pleuriſies, palſies, lethargies, to which perhaps none there preſent were inclined; and ſo, without ſo much as feeling one pulſe, or giving the leaſt order to any ſkilful apothecary, ſhould diſmiſs them from time to time, ſome groaning, ſome languiſhing, ſome expiring, with this only charge, to look well to themſelves, and do as they hear. Of what excellence and neceſſity then church-diſcipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to man's invention, who would be every foot turning it to ſiniſter ends; how properly alſo it is the work of God as father, and of Chriſt as huſband, of the church, we have by thus much heard.

## CHAP. II.

*That church-government is ſet down in holy ſcripture, and that to ſay otherwiſe is untrue.*

As therefore it is unfound to ſay, that God hath not appointed any ſet government in his church, ſo is it untrue. Of the time of the law there can be no doubt; for to let paſs the firſt inſtitution of prieſts and Levites, which is too

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too clear to be inſiſted upon, when the temple came to be built, which in plain judgment could breed no eſſential change, either in religion, or in the prieſtly government; yet God, to ſhow how little he could endure that men ſhould be tampering and contriving in his worſhip, though in things of leſs regard, gave to David for Solomon, not only a pattern and model of the temple, but a direction for the courſes of the prieſts and Levites, and for all the work of their ſervice. At the return from the captivity, things were only reſtored after the ordinance of Moſes and David; or if the leaſt alteration be to be found, they had with them inſpired men, prophets; and it were not ſober to ſay they did aught of moment without divine intimation. In the prophecy of Ezekiel, from the 40th chapter onward, after the deſtruction of the temple, God, by his prophet ſeeking to wean the hearts of the Jews from their old law, to expect a new and more perfect reformation under Chriſt, ſets out before their eyes the ſtately fabric and conſtitution of his church, with all the eccleſiaſtical functions appertaining: indeed the deſcription is as ſorted beſt to the apprehenſion of thoſe times, typical and ſhadowy, but in ſuch manner as never yet came to paſs, nor ever muſt literally, unleſs we mean to annihilate the goſpel. But ſo exquiſite and lively the deſcription is in pourtraying the new ſtate of the church, and eſpecially in thoſe points where government ſeems to be moſt active, that both Jews and Gentiles might have good cauſe to be aſſured, that God, whenever he meant to reform his church, never intended to leave the government thereof, delineated here in ſuch curious architecture, to be patched afterwards, and varniſhed over with the devices and embelliſhings of man's imagination. Did God take ſuch delight in meaſuring out the pillars, arches, and doors of a material temple? Was he ſo punctual and circumſpect in lavers, altars, and ſacrifices ſoon after to be abrogated, leſt any of theſe ſhould have been made contrary to his mind? Is not a far more perfect work, more agreeable to his perfections in the moſt perfect ſtate of the church militant, the new alliance of God to man? Should not he rather now by his own preſcribed diſcipline have caſt his line and level upon the



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ſoul of man which is his rational temple, and, by the divine ſquare and compaſs thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely ſhapes of virtues and graces, the ſooner to edify and accompliſh that immortal ſtature of Chriſt's body, which is his church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions? And that this indeed God hath done for us in the goſpel we ſhall ſee with open eyes, not under a veil. We may paſs over the hiſtory of the Acts and other places, turning only to thoſe epiſtles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus; where the ſpiritual eye may diſcern more goodly and gracefully erected, than all the magnificence of temple or tabernacle, ſuch a heavenly ſtructure of evangelical diſcipline, ſo diffuſive of knowledge and charity to the proſperous increaſe and growth of the church, that it cannot be wondered if that elegant and artful ſymmetry of the promiſed new temple in Ezekiel, and all thoſe ſumptuous things under the law were made to ſignify the inward beauty and ſplendour of the Chriſtian church thus governed. And whether this be commanded, let it now be judged. St. Paul after his preface to the firſt of Timothy, which he concludes in the 17th verſe with Amen, enters upon the ſubject of this epiſtle, which is to eſtabliſh the church-government, with a command: "This charge I commit to thee, ſon Timothy: according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mighteſt war a good warfare." Which is plain enough thus expounded: This charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to inſtruct thee how thou ſhalt ſet up church-diſcipline, that thou mighteſt war a good warfare, bearing thyſelf conſtantly and faithfully in the miniſtry, which, in the firſt to the Corinthians, is alſo called a warfare; and ſo after a kind of parentheſis concerning Hymenæus, he returns to his command, though under the mild word of exhorting, chap. ii, ver. 1, "I exhort therefore;" as if he had interrupted his former command by the occaſional mention of Hymenæus. More beneath in the 14th verſe of the third chapter, when he hath delivered the duties of biſhops or preſbyters, and deacons, not once naming any other order in the church, he thus adds; "Theſe things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee ſhortly (ſuch neceſſity it ſeems there was) but if I tarry long, that thou

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mayeſt know how thou oughteſt to behave thyſelf in the houſe of God." From this place it may be juſtly aſked, whether Timothy by this here written, might know what was to be known concerning the orders of church governors or no? If he might, then, in ſuch a clear text as this, may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did St. Paul write inſufficiently, and moreover ſaid not true, for he ſaith here he might know; and I perſuade myſelf he did know ere this was written, but that the apoſtle had more regard to the inſtruction of us, than to the informing of him. In the fifth chapter, after ſome other church-precepts concerning diſcipline, mark what a dreadful command follows, ver. 21: "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect angels, that thou obſerve theſe things." And as if all were not yet ſure enough, he cloſes up the epiſtle with an adjuring charge thus; "I give thee charge in the ſight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Chriſt Jeſus, that thou keep this commandment:" that is, the whole commandment concerning diſcipline, being the main purpoſe of the epiſtle: although Hooker would fain have this denouncement referred to the particular precept going before, becauſe the word commandment is in the ſingular number, not remembering that even in the firſt chapter of this epiſtle, the word commandment is uſed in a plural ſenſe, ver. 5: "Now the end of the commandment is charity;" and what more frequent than in like manner to ſay, the law of Moſes? So that either to reſtrain the ſignificance too much, or too much to enlarge it, would make the adjuration either not ſo weighty, or not ſo pertinent. And thus we find here that the rules of church-diſcipline are not only commanded, but hedged about with ſuch a terrible impalement of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the leaſt of them, muſt hazard the wounding of his conſcience even unto death. Yet all this notwithſtanding, we ſhall find them broken well nigh all by the fair pretenders even of the next ages. No leſs to the contempt of him whom they feign to be the archfounder of prelaty, St. Peter, who, by what he writes in the fifth chapter of his firſt epiſtle, ſhould ſeem to be far another man than tradition reports him: there he



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commits

commits to the preſbyters only full authority, both of feeding the flock and epiſcopating; and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the venturous boldneſs of innovation that enſued, changing the decrees of God that are immutable, as if they had been breathed by man. Nevertheleſs when Chriſt, by thoſe viſions of St. John, foreſhows the reformation of his church, he bids him take his reed, and mete it out again after the firſt pattern, for he preſcribes him no other. "Ariſe, ſaid the Angel, and meaſure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worſhip therein." What is there in the world can meaſure men but diſcipline? Our word ruling imports no leſs. Doctrine indeed is the meaſure, or at leaſt the reaſon of the meaſure, it is true; but unleſs the meaſure be applied to that which it is to meaſure, how can it actually do its proper work? Whether therefore diſcipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that perſon, we all agree that doctrine muſt be ſuch only as is commanded; or whether it be ſomething really differing from doctrine, yet was it only of God's appointment, as being the moſt adequate meaſure of the church and her children, which is here the office of a great evangeliſt, and the reed given him from Heaven. But that part of the temple which is not thus meaſured, ſo far is it from being in God's tuition or delight, that in the following verſe he rejects it; however in ſhow and viſibility it may ſeem a part of his church, yet in as much as it lies thus unmeaſured, he leaves it to be trampled by the gentiles; that is, to be polluted with idolatrous and gentiliſh rites and ceremonies. And that the principal reformation here foretold is already come to paſs, as well in diſcipline as in doctrine, the ſtate of our neighbour churches afford us to behold. Thus, through all the periods and changes of the church, it hath been proved, that God hath ſtill reſerved to himſelf the right of enacting church-government.

CHAP.

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## CHAP. III.

*That it is dangerous and unworthy the goſpel, to hold that church-government is to be patterned by the law, as biſhop Andrews and the primate of Armagh maintain.*

We may return now from this interpoſing difficulty thus removed, to affirm, that ſince church-government is ſo ſtrictly commanded in God's word, the firſt and greateſt reaſon why we ſhould ſubmit thereto is, becauſe God hath ſo commanded. But whether of theſe two, prelaty, or preſbytery, can prove itſelf to be ſupported by this firſt and greateſt reaſon, muſt be the next diſpute: wherein this poſition is to be firſt laid down, as granted; that I may not follow a chaſe rather than an argument, that one of theſe two, and none other, is of God's ordaining; and if it be, that ordinance muſt be evident in the goſpel. For the imperfect and obſcure inſtitution of the law, which the apoſtles themſelves doubt not ofttimes to vilify, cannot give rules to the complete and glorious miniſtration of the goſpel, which looks on the law as on a child, not as on a tutor. And that the prelates have no ſure foundation in the goſpel, their own guiltineſs doth manifeſt; they would not elſe run queſting up as high as Adam to fetch their original, as it is ſaid one of them lately did in public. To which aſſertion, had I heard it, becauſe I ſee they are ſo inſatiable of antiquity, I ſhould have gladly aſſented, and confeſſed them yet more ancient: for Lucifer, before Adam, was the firſt prelate angel; and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather Adam, as we all know, for aſpiring above their orders, were miſerably degraded. But others, better adviſed, are content to receive their beginning from Aaron and his ſons, among whom biſhop Andrews of late years, and in theſe times the primate of Armagh, for their learning, are reputed the beſt able to ſay what may be ſaid in this opinion. The primate, in his diſcourſe about the original of epiſcopacy newly reviſed, begins thus: "The ground of epiſcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern preſcribed

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preſcribed by God in the Old Teſtament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the apoſtles." Herein I muſt entreat to be excuſed of the deſire I have to be ſatisfied, how for example the ground of epiſcopacy is fetched partly from the example of the Old Teſtament, by whom next, and by whoſe authority. Secondly, how the church-government under the goſpel can be rightly called an imitation of that in the Old Teſtament; for that the goſpel is the end and fulfilling of the law, our liberty alſo from the bondage of the law, I plainly read. How then the ripe age of the goſpel ſhould be put to ſchool again, and learn to govern herſelf from the infancy of the law, the ſtronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be leſſoned by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of thoſe principles, which either art or inſpiration hath written. If any thing done by the apoſtles may be drawn howſoever to a likeneſs of ſomething moſaical, if it cannot be proved that it was done of purpoſe in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little avail the matter. The whole judaic law is either political, (and to take pattern by that, no chriſtian nation ever thought itſelf obliged in conſcience) or moral, which contains in it the obſervation of whatſoever is ſubſtantially and perpetually true and good, either in religion, or courſe of life. That which is thus moral, beſides what we fetch from thoſe unwritten laws and ideas which nature hath engraven in us, the goſpel, as ſtands with her dignity moſt, lectures to her from her own authentic handwriting and command, not copies out from the borrowed manuſcript of a ſubſervient ſcroll, by way of imitating: as well might ſhe be ſaid in her ſacrament of water, to imitate the baptiſm of John. What though ſhe retain excommunication uſed in the ſynagogue, retain the morality of the ſabbath? She does not therefore imitate the law her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally delivered from the law to the goſpel, in the office of the prieſts and Levites, was, that there ſhould be a miniſtry ſet apart to teach and diſcipline the church; both which duties the apoſtles thought good to commit to the preſbyters. And if any diſtinction

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diſtinction of honour were to be made among them, they directed it ſhould be to thoſe not that only rule well, but eſpecially to thoſe that labour in the word and doctrine. By which we are taught that laborious teaching is the moſt honourable prelaty that one miniſter can have above another in the goſpel; if, therefore the ſuperiority of biſhopſhip be grounded on the prieſthood as a part of the moral law, it cannot be ſaid to be an imitation; for it were ridiculous that morality ſhould imitate morality, which ever was the ſame thing. This very word of patterning or imitating, excludes epiſcopacy from the ſolid and grave ethical law, and betrays it to be a mere child of ceremony, or likelier ſome miſbegotten thing, that having plucked the gay feathers of her obſolete bravery, to hide her own deformed barrenneſs, now vaunts and glories in her ſtolen plumes. In the mean while, what danger there is againſt the very life of the goſpel, to make in any thing the typical law her pattern, and how impoſſible in that which touches the prieſtly government, I ſhall uſe ſuch light as I have received, to lay open. It cannot be unknown by what expreſſions the holy apoſtle St. Paul ſpares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the law, calling thoſe ordinances, which were the chief and eſſential offices of the prieſts, the elements and rudiments of the world, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promiſe, the heirs of liberty and grace, under ſuch a kind of government as is profeſſed to be but an imitation of that miniſtry, which engendered to bondage the ſons of Agar; how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birthright and immunity, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for us with his blood? For the miniſtration of the law, conſiſting of carnal things, drew to it ſuch a miniſtry as conſiſted of carnal reſpects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And ſuch a miniſtry eſtabliſhed in the goſpel, as is founded upon the points and terms of ſuperiority, and neſts itſelf in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we ſee it doth, ſuch a religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the fleſh: for doubtleſs there is a certain attraction and magnetic force betwixt the religion and the miniſterial form thereof. If the religion be pure, ſpiritual, ſimple, and lowly, as the goſpel moſt truly

truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner, if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honour, temporal jurisdiction, we see with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the gospel into the outward carnality of the law; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities, and gay shows. And what remains then, but that we should run into as dangerous and deadly apostasy as our lamentable neighbours the papists, who, by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the ceremonial law, fell into that irrecoverable superstition, as must needs make void the covenant of salvation to them that persist in this blindness?

## CHAP. IV.

*That it is impossible to make the priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground episcopacy.*

THAT which was promised next is, to declare the impossibility of grounding evangelic government in the imitation of the jewish priesthood; which will be done by considering both the quality of the persons, and the office itself. Aaron and his sons were the princes of their tribe, before they were sanctified to the priesthood: that personal eminence, which they held above the other Levites, they received not only from their office, but partly brought it into their office; and so from that time forward the priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the Levites, as our bishops, but were born inheritors of the dignity. Therefore, unless we shall choose our prelates only out of the nobility, and let them run in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of lording over their brethren in regard of their persons altogether unlike. As for the office, which was a representation of Christ's own person more immediately in the high priest, and of his whole priestly office in all the other, to the performance of which the Levites were but as servitors and deacons, it was necessary there should be a distinction of dignity between two functions of so great

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odds. But there being no ſuch difference among our miniſters, unleſs it be in reference to the deacons, it is impoſſible to found a prelaty upon the imitation of this prieſthood: for wherein, or in what work, is the office of a prelate excellent above that of a paſtor? In ordination, you will ſay; but flatly againſt ſcripture: for there we know Timothy received ordination by the hands of the preſbytery, notwithſtanding all the vain deluſions that are uſed to evade that teſtimony, and maintain an unwarrantable uſurpation. But wherefore ſhould ordination be a cauſe of ſetting up a ſuperior degree in the Church? Is not that whereby Chriſt became our Saviour a higher and greater work, than that whereby he did ordain meſſengers to preach and publiſh him our Saviour? Every miniſter ſuſtains the perſon of Chriſt in his higheſt work of communicating to us the myſteries of our ſalvation, and hath the power of binding and abſolving; how ſhould he need a higher dignity, to repreſent or execute that which is an inferiour work in Chriſt? Why ſhould the performance of ordination, which is a lower office, exalt a prelate, and not the ſeldom diſcharge of a higher and more noble office, which is preaching and adminiſtering, much rather depreſs him? Verily, neither the nature nor the example of ordination doth any way require an imparity between the ordainer and the ordained; for what more natural than every like to produce his like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire? And in examples of higheſt opinion the ordainer is inferiour to the ordained; for the pope is not made by the precedent pope, but by cardinals, who ordain and conſecrate to a higher and greater office than their own.

## CHAP. V.

*To the arguments of biſhop Andrews and the Primate.*

It follows here to attend to certain objections in a little treatiſe lately printed among others of like ſort at Oxford, and in the title ſaid to be out of the rude draughts of biſhop

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bishop Andrews: and surely they be rude draughts indeed, insomuch that it is marvel to think what his friends meant, to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so much bruited for learning. In the twelfth and twenty-third pages he seems most notoriously inconstant to himself; for in the former place he tells us he forbears to take any argument of prelaty from Aaron, as being the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbear no longer but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirming, that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his figure in the high priest ceaseth, is the shift of an anabaptist; and stifly argues, that Christ being as well king as priest, was as well foreresembled by the kings then, as by the high priest: so that if his coming take away the one type, it must also the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well worth that the land should pay six thousand pounds a year for in a bishopric; although I read of no sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither Hippias nor Protagoras, nor any whom the socratic school famously refuted without hire. Here we have the type of the king sewed to the tippet of the bishop, subtlety to cast a jealousy upon the crown, as if the right of kings, like Meleager in the Metamorphosis, were no longer lived than the firebrand of prelaty. But more likely the prelates fearing (for their own guilty carriage protests they do fear) that their fair days cannot long hold, practise by possessing the king with this most false doctrine, to engage his power for them, as in his own quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin; just as cruel Tiberius would wish:

"When I die let the earth be rolled in flames."

But where, O Bishop, doth the purpose of the law set forth Christ to us as a king! That which never was intended in the law can never be abolished as part thereof. When the law was made, there was no king: if before the law, or under the law, God by a special type in any king would foresignify the future kingdom of Christ, which is not yet visibly come; what was that to the law? The whole ceremonial law (and types can be in no law else) comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Christ's

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Chriſt's prieſthood, which being in ſubſtance accompliſhed, both law and prieſthood fades away of itſelf, and paſſes into air like a tranſitory viſion, and the right of kings neither ſtands by any type nor falls. We acknowledge that the civil magiſtrate wears an authority of God's giving, and ought to be obeyed as his vicegerent. But to make a king a type, we ſay is an abuſive and unſkilful ſpeech, and of a moral ſolidity makes it ſeem a ceremonial ſhadow: therefore your typical chain of king and prieſt muſt unlink. But is not the type of prieſt taken away by Chriſt's coming? No, ſaith this famous proteſtant biſhop of Wincheſter, it is not; and he that ſaith it is, is an anabaptiſt. What think ye, readers, do ye not underſtand him? What can be gathered hence, but that the prelate would ſtill ſacrifice? Conceive him, readers, he would miſſificate. Their altars, indeed, were in a fair forwardneſs; and by ſuch arguments as theſe they were ſetting up the molten calf of their maſs again, and of their great hierarch the pope. For if the type of prieſt be not taken away, then neither of the high prieſt, it were a ſtrange beheading; and high prieſt more than one there cannot be, and that one can be no leſs than a pope. And this doubtleſs was the bent of his career, though never ſo covertly. Yea, but there was ſomething elſe in the high prieſt, beſides the figure, as is plain by St. Paul's acknowledging him. It is true, that in the 17th of Deut. whence this authority ariſes to the prieſt in matters too hard for the ſecular judges, as muſt needs be many in the occaſions of thoſe times, involved ſo with ceremonial niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to inquire at the mouth of the prieſts, who beſides the magiſtrates their colleagues, had the oracle of urim to conſult with. And whether the high prieſt Ananias had not encroached beyond the limits of his prieſtly authority, or whether he uſed it rightly, was no time then for St. Paul to conteſt about. But if this inſtance be able to aſſert any right of juriſdiction to the clergy, it muſt impart it in common to all miniſters, ſince it were a great folly to ſeek for counſel in a hard intricate ſcruple from a dunce prelate, when there might be found a ſpeedier ſolution from a grave and learned miniſter, whom God hath gifted with the judgment

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judgment of urim, more amply ofttimes than all the prelates together; and now in the gospel hath granted the privilege of this oraculous ephod alike to all his ministers. The reason therefore of imparity in the priests, being now, as is aforesaid, really annulled both in their person and in their representative office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place levitically bequeathed, must descend upon the ministers of the gospel equally, as it finds them in all other points equal. Well, then, he is finally content to let Aaron go; Eleazar will serve his turn, as being a superiour of superiours, and yet no type of Christ in Aaron's lifetime. O thou that wouldest wind into any figment, or phantasm, to save thy mite! yet all this will not sadge, though it be cunningly interpolished by some second hand with crooks and emendations: hear then, the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entering yearly into the holy of holies, and such like, rested upon the high priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour: but to resemble his whole satisfactory office, all the lineage of Aaron was no more than sufficient. And all or any of the priests, considered separately without relation to the highest, are but as a lifeless trunk, and signify nothing. And this shows the excellence of Christ's sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfilled that which many hundreds of priests many times repeating had enough to foreshow. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumstances of a carnal service, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the sum of what the bishop hath laid together to make plea for prelaty by imitation of the law: though indeed, if it may stand, it will infer popedom all as well. Many other courses he tries, enforcing himself with much ostentation of endless genealogies, as if he were the man that St. Paul forewarns us of in Timothy, but so unvigorously, that I do not fear his winning of many to his cause, but such as doting upon great names are either overweak, or oversudden of faith. I shall not refuse, therefore, to learn so much prudence as I find in the roman soldier that attended the cross, not to stand breaking

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ing of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but paſs to that which follows. The primate of Armagh at the beginning of his tractate ſeeks to avail himſelf of that place in the ſixty-ſixth of Iſaiah, "I will take of them for prieſts and levites, ſaith the Lord," to uphold hereby ſuch a form of ſuperiority among the miniſters of the goſpel, ſucceeding thoſe in the law, as the Lord's-day did the ſabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting thoſe prophetical paſſages concerning chriſtian times and a punctual correſpondence, it may with equal probability be urged upon us, that we are bound to obſerve ſome monthly ſolemnity anſwerable to the new moons, as well as the Lord's-day which we keep in lieu of the ſabbath: for in the 23d verſe the prophet joins them in the ſame manner together, as before he did the prieſts and levites, thus: "And it ſhall come to paſs that from one new moon to another, and from one ſabbath to another, ſhall all fleſh come to worſhip before me, ſaith the Lord." Undoubtedly, with as good conſequence may it be alleged from hence, that we are to ſolemnize ſome religious monthly meeting different from the ſabbath, as from the other any diſtinct formality of eccleſiaſtical orders may be inferred. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconſtrained ſenſe of the text, that God, in taking of them for prieſts and levites, will not eſteem them unworthy, though gentiles, to undergo any function in the church, but will make of them a full and perfect miniſtry, as was that of the prieſts and levites in their kind. And biſhop Andrews himſelf, to end the controverſy, ſends us a candid expoſition of this quoted verſe from the 24th page of his ſaid book, plainly deciding that God, by thoſe legal names there of prieſts and levites, means our preſbyters and deacons; for which either ingenuous confeſſion, or ſlip of his pen, we give him thanks, and withal to him that brought theſe treatiſes into one volume, who, ſetting the contradictions of two learned men ſo near together, did not foreſee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of St. Paul, to prove a likeneſs between the miniſters of the Old and New Teſtament, having tried their ſinews, I judge they may paſs without harm-doing to our cauſe. We may remember, then, that pre-



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laty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the goſpel; which aſſertion, as being for the plainneſs thereof a matter of eyeſight, rather than of diſquiſition, I voluntarily omit; not forgetting, to ſpecify this note again, that the earneſt deſire which the prelates have to build their hierarchy upon the ſandy bottom of the law, gives us to ſee abundantly the little aſſurance, which they find to rear up their high roofs by the authority of the goſpel, repulſed as it were from the writings of the apoſtles, and driven to take ſanctuary among the jews. Hence that open confeſſion of the primate before mentioned: "Epiſcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern of the Old Teſtament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old;" though nothing can be more rotten in divinity than ſuch a poſition as this, and is all one as to ſay, epiſcopacy is partly of divine inſtitution, and partly of man's own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the law, than what the apoſtles had already fetched, if they fetched any thing at all, as hath been proved they did not? So was Jeroboam's epiſcopacy partly from the pattern of the law, and partly from the pattern of his own carnality; a party-coloured and a party-membered epiſcopacy: and what can this be leſs than a monſtrous? Others therefore among the prelates, perhaps not ſo well able to brook, or rather to juſtify this foul relapſing to the old law, have condeſcended at laſt to a plain-confeſſing, that both the names and offices of biſhops and preſbyters at firſt were the ſame, and in the ſcriptures nowhere diſtinguiſhed. This grants the remonſtrant in the fifth ſection of his defence, and in the preface to his laſt ſhort anſwer. But what need reſpect be had whether he grant or grant it not, when as through all antiquity, and even in the loftieſt times of prelaty, we find it granted? Jerome, the learnedeſt of the fathers, hides not his opinion, that cuſtom only, which the proverb calls a tyrant, was the maker of prelaty; before his audacious workmanſhip the churches were ruled in common by the preſbyters: and ſuch a certain truth this was eſteemed, that it became a decree among the papal canons compiled by Gratian. Anſelm alſo of Canterbury, who, to uphold the points of his prelatiſm, made himſelf a traitor

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traitor to his country, yet, commenting the epiſtles to Titus and the Philippians, acknowledges, from the clearneſs of the text, what Jerome and the church-rubric hath before acknowledged. He little dreamed then that the weeding-hook of reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from inſulting over the good corn. Though ſince ſome of our britiſh prelates, ſeeing themſelves preſſed to produce ſcripture, try all their cunning, if the New Teſtament will not help them, to frame of their own heads, as it were with wax, a kind of mimic biſhop limned out to the life of a dead prieſthood: orelſe they would ſtrain us out a certain figurative prelate, by wringing the collective allegory of thoſe ſeven angels into ſeven ſingle rochets. Howſoever, ſince it thus appears that cuſtom was the creator of prelaty, being leſs ancient than the government of preſbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of biſhops through ſo many ages: and if againſt their tedious muſter of citations, ſees, and ſucceſſions, it be replied that wagers and church-antiquities, ſuch as are repugnant to the plain dictate of ſcripture, are both alike the arguments of fools, they have their anſwer. We rather are to cite all thoſe ages to an arraignment before the word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how preſuming they durſt alter that divine inſtitution of preſbyters, which the apoſtles, who were no various and inconſtant men, ſurely had ſet up in the churches; and why they chooſe to live by cuſtom and catalogue, or, as St. Paul ſaith, by ſight and viſibility, rather than by faith? But, firſt, I conclude, from their own mouths, that God's command in ſcripture, which doubtleſs ought to be the firſt and greateſt reaſon of church-government, is wanting to prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Chriſt, to determine that the want of this reaſon is of itſelf ſufficient to confute all other pretences, that may be brought in favour it.



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## CHAP. VI.

*That prelaty was not set up for prevention of schism, as is pretended; or if it were, that it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.*

YET because it hath the outside of a specious reason, and specious things we know are aptest to work with human lightness and frailty, even against the solidest truth that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the examining for the love of infirmer christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them, that, for the prevention of growing schism, the bishop was heaved above the presbyter. And must tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual cankerworm to eat out God's commandments? Are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of Solon or Lycurgus shall prove durably good to many ages, his, in forty years, shall be found defective, ill-contrived, and for needful causes to be altered? Our Saviour and his apostles did not only foresee, but foretel and forewarn us to look for schism. Is it a thing to be imagined of God's wisdom, or at least of apostolic prudence, to set up such a government in the tenderness of the church, as should incline, or not be more able than any others to oppose itself to schism? It was well known what a bold lurker schism was, even in the household of Christ, between his own disciples and those of John the Baptist about fasting; and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of schism had almost drowned the proclaiming of the gospel; yet we read not in scripture, that any thought was had of making prelates, no not in those places where dissension was most rife. If prelaty had been then esteemed a remedy against schism, where was it more needful than in that great variance among the Corinthians, which St. Paul so laboured to reconcile? and whose eye could have found the fittest remedy sooner than his? And what could have made the remedy more available, than to have used it speedily? And lastly,

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laſtly, what could have been more neceſſary, than to have written it for our inſtruction? Yet we ſee he neither commended it to us, nor uſed it himſelf. For the ſame diviſion remaining there, or elſe burſting forth again more than twenty years after St. Paul's death, we find in Clement's epiſtle, of venerable authority, written to the yet factious Corinthians, that they were ſtill governed by preſbyters. And the ſame of other churches out of Hermas, and divers other the ſcholars of the apoſtles, by the late induſtry of the learned Salmaſius appears. Neither yet did this worthy Clement, St. Paul's diſciple, though writing to them to lay aſide ſchiſm, in the leaſt word adviſe them to change the preſbyterian government into prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave or permitted this inſurrection of epiſcopacy, it is to be feared he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Iſraelites a king. With ſo good a will doth he uſe to alter his own choſen government once eſtabliſhed. For mark whether this rare device of man's brain, thus preferred before the ordinance of God, had better ſucceſs than fleſhly wiſdom, not counſelling with God, is wont to have. So far was it from removing ſchiſm, that if ſchiſm parted the congregations before, now it rent and mangled, now it raged. Hereſy begat hereſy with a certain monſtrous haſte of pregnancy in her birth, at once born and bringing forth. Contentions, before brotherly, were now hoſtile. Men went to chooſe their biſhop as they went to a pitched field, and the day of his election was like the ſacking of a city, ſometimes ended with the blood of thouſands. Nor this among heretics only, but men of the ſame belief, yea confeſſors; and that with ſuch odious ambition, that Euſebius, in his eighth book, teſtifies he abhorred to write. And the reaſon is not obſcure, for the poor dignity, or rather burden, of a parochial preſbyter could not engage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but prelaty was a power of that extent and ſway, that if her election were popular, it was ſeldom not the cauſe of ſome faction or broil in the church. But if her dignity came by favour of ſome prince, ſhe was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in ſtate, were they right or wrong. So that, inſtead of finding prelaty an impeacher



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of ſchiſm or faction, the more I ſearch, the more I grow into all perſuaſion to think rather that faction and ſhe, as with a ſpouſal ring, are wedded together, never to be divorced. But here let every one behold the juſt and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of man, that durſt offer to mend the ordinances of Heaven. God out of the ſtriſe of men brought forth by his apoſtles to the church that beneficent and ever-diſtributing office of deacons, the ſtewards and miniſters of holy alms: man, out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the ſnare of his impious boldneſs to correct the will of Chriſt, brought forth to himſelf upon the church that irreconcilable ſchiſm of perdition and apoſtaſy, the roman antichriſt; for that the exaltation of the pope aroſe out of the reaſon of prelaty, it cannot be denied. And as I noted before, that the pattern of the high prieſt pleaded for in the goſpel (for take away the head prieſt, the reſt are but a carcaſe) ſets up with better reaſon a pope than an archbiſhop; for if prelaty muſt ſtill riſe and riſe till it come to a primate, why ſhould it ſtay there? when as the catholic government is not to follow the diviſion of kingdoms, the temple beſt repreſenting the univerſal church, and the high prieſt the univerſal head: ſo I obſerve here, that if to quiet ſchiſm there muſt be one head of prelaty in a land, or monarchy, riſing from a provincial to a national primacy, there may, upon better grounds of repreſſing ſchiſm, be ſet up one catholic head over the catholic church. For the peace and good of the church is not terminated in the ſchiſmleſs eſtate of one or two kingdoms, but ſhould be provided for by the joint conſultation of all reformed chriſtendom: that all controverſy may end in the final pronounce or canon of one archprimate or proteſtant pope. Although by this means, for aught I ſee, all the diameters of ſchiſm may as well meet and be knit up in the centre of one grand falſehood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference theſe two main reaſons of the prelates have, that by a natural league of conſequence make more for the pope than for themſelves; yea, to ſay more home, are the very womb for a new ſubantichriſt to breed in, if it be not rather the old force and power of

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the ſame man of ſin counterfeiting proteſtant. It was not the prevention of ſchiſm, but it was ſchiſm itſelf and the hateful thirſt of lording in the church, that firſt beſtowed a being upon prelaty; this was the true cauſe, but the pretence is ſtill the ſame. The prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of ſchiſm. Forſooth if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable ſects will follow; we ſhall be all Browniſts, Familiſts, Anabaptiſts. For the word Puritan ſeems to be quaſhed, and all that heretofore were counted ſuch, are now Browniſts. And thus do they raiſe an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for; like thoſe faithleſs ſpies, whoſe carcaſes ſhall periſh in the wilderneſs of their own confuſed ignorance, and never taſte the good of reformation. Do they keep away ſchiſm? If to bring a numb and chill ſtupidity of ſoul, an unactive blindneſs of mind, upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all; if to perſecute all knowing and zealous chriſtians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away ſchiſm, they keep ſchiſm away indeed: and by this kind of diſcipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politicly kept from ſchiſm as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead-palſy boaſt to a man, It is I that free you from ſtitches and pains, and the troubleſome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and ſtrokes; if I were gone, all theſe would moleſt you. The winter might as well vaunt itſelf againſt the ſpring, I deſtroy all noiſome and rank weeds, I keep down all peſtilent vapours; yes, and all wholeſome herbs, and all freſh dews, by your violent and hidebound froſt: but when the gentle weſt winds ſhall open the fruitful boſom of the earth, thus overgirded by your impriſonment, then the flowers put forth and ſpring, and then the ſun ſhall ſcatter the miſts, and the manuring hand of the tiller ſhall root up all that burdens the ſoil without thank to your bondage. But far worſe than any frozen captivity is the bondage of prelates; for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good within the earth, ſo doth it likewiſe that which is ill; but theſe let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or elſe keep down the leſſer ill, and let out the greateſt. Be aſhamed at laſt to tell the parliament, ye



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curb ſchiſmatics, whenas they know ye cheriſh and ſide with papiſts, and are now as it were one party with them, and it is ſaid they help to petition for ye. Can we believe that your government ſtrains in good earneſt at the petty gnats of ſchiſm, whenas we ſee it makes nothing to ſwallow the camel hereſy of Rome, but that indeed your throats are of the right phariſaical ſtrain? where are thoſe ſchiſmatics, with whom the prelates hold ſuch hot ſkirmiſh? ſhow us your acts, thoſe glorious annals which your courts of loathed memory lately deceaſed have left us? Thoſe ſchiſmatics I doubt me will be found the moſt of them ſuch as whoſe only ſchiſm was to have ſpoken the truth againſt your high abominations and creulties in the church; this is the ſchiſm ye hate moſt, the removal of your criminous hierarchy. A politic government of yours, and of a pleaſant conceit, ſet up to remove thoſe as a pretended ſchiſm, that would remove you as a palpable hereſy in government. If the ſchiſm would pardon ye that, ſhe might go jagged in as many cuts and ſlaſhes as ſhe pleaſed for you. As for the rending of the church, we have many reaſons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent, ſo much as the rending of your pontifical ſleeves: that ſchiſm would be the ſoreſt ſchiſm to you; that would be Browniſm and Anabaptiſm indeed. If we go down, ſay you, (as if Adrian's wall were broken) a flood of ſects will ruſh in. What ſects? What are their opinions? Give us the inventory: it will appear both by your former proſecutions and your preſent inſtances, that they are only ſuch to ſpeak of, as are offended with your lawleſs government, your ceremonies, your liturgy, an extract of the maſs-book tranſlated. But that they ſhould be contemners of public prayer, and churches uſed without ſuperſtition I truſt God will manifeſt it ere long to be as falſe a ſlander, as your former ſlanders againſt the Scots. Noiſe it till ye be hoarſe, that a rabble of ſects will come in; it will be anſwered ye, no rabble, ſir prieſt, but an unanimous multitude of good proteſtants will then join to the church, which now, becauſe of you, ſtand ſeparated: This will be the dreadful conſequence of your removal. As for thoſe terrible names of ſectaries and ſchiſmatics, which

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which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly ſtored, after the firſt brunt is quite empty, your courſe is to betake ye to your other quiver of ſlander, wherein lies your beſt archery. And whom you could not move by ſophiſtical arguing, them you think to confute by ſcandalous miſnaming; thereby inciting the blinder ſort of people to miſlike and deride ſound doctrine and good chriſtianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms. But if we could eaſily endure and diſſolve your doughtieſt reaſons in argument, we ſhall more eaſily bear the worſt of your unreaſonableneſs in calumny and falſe report: eſpecially being foretold by Chriſt, that if he our maſter were by your predeceſſors called Samaritan and Beelzebub, we muſt not think it ſtrange if his beſt diſciples in the reformation, as at firſt by thoſe of your tribe they were called Lollards and Huſſites, ſo now by you be termed Puritans and Brownists. But my hope is, that the people of England will not ſuffer themſelves to be juggled thus out of their faith and religion by a miſt of names caſt before their eyes, but will ſearch wiſely by the ſcriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aſperſion of a diſgraceful name into the things themſelves: knowing that the primitive chriſtians in their times were accounted ſuch as are now called Familiſts and Adamites, or worſe. And many on the prelatic ſide, like the church of Sardis, have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be proteſtants, and are indeed papiſts in moſt of their principles. Thus perſuaded, this your old fallacy we ſhall ſoon unmaſk, and quickly apprehend how you prevent ſchiſm, and who are your ſchiſmatics. But what if ye prevent and hinder all good means of preventing ſchiſm? That way which the apoſtles uſed, was to call a council: from which, by any thing that can be learned from the fifteenth of the Acts, no faithful chriſtian was debarred, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of ſuch a council as this every parochial conſiſtory is a right homogeneous and conſtituting part, being in itſelf, as it were, a little ſynod, and towards a general aſſembly moving upon her own baſis in an even and firm progreſſion, as thoſe ſmaller ſquares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and ſteadfaſtneſs.

Whereas,

Whereas, on the other ſide, prelaty aſcending by a gradual monarchy from biſhop to archbiſhop, from thence to primate, and from thence, for there can be no reaſon yielded neither in nature nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it ſhould not be a lordly aſcendant in the horoſcope of the church, from primate to patriarch, and ſo to pope: I ſay, prelaty thus aſcending in a continual pyramid upon pretence to perfect the church's unity, if notwithſtanding it be found moſt needful, yea the utmoſt help to darn up the rents of ſchiſm by calling a council, what does it but teach us that prelaty is of no force to effect this work, which ſhe boaſts to be her maſterpiece; and that her pyramid aſpires and ſharpens to ambition, not to perfection or unity? This we know, that as often as any great ſchiſm diſparts the church, and ſynods be proclaimed, the preſbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the biſhops, which the canon law conceals not. So that prelaty, if ſhe will ſeek to cloſe up diviſions in the church, muſt be forced to diſſolve and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which ſhe affirms to be of ſuch uniting power, whenas indeed it is the moſt dividing and ſchiſmatical form that geometricians know of, and muſt be fain to inglobe or incube herſelf among the preſbyters; which ſhe hating to do, ſends her haughty prelates from all parts with their forked mitres, the badge of ſchiſm, or the ſtamp of his cloven foot whom they ſerve I think, who, according to their hierarchies acuminating ſtill higher and higher in a cone of prelaty, inſtead of healing up the gaſhes of the church, as it happens in ſuch pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their ſharp ſpires for upper place and precedence, till the council itſelf proves the greateſt ſchiſm of all. And thus they are ſo far from hindering diſſenſion, that they have made unprofitable, and even noiſome, the chiefeſt remedy we have to keep chriſtendom at one, which is by councils: and theſe, if we rightly conſider apoſtolic example, are nothing elſe but general preſbyteries. This ſeemed ſo far from the apoſtles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impaired, that, as we may gather by thoſe epiſtles of Peter and John, which are likely to be lateſt written, when the church grew to a ſettling, like thoſe heroic

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heroic patricians of Rome (if we may uſe ſuch compariſon) haſtening to lay down their dictatorſhip, they rejoiced to call themſelves, and to be as fellow-elders among their brethren; knowing that their high office was but as the ſcaffolding of the church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troubleſome disfigurement, ſo ſoon as the building was finiſhed. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, ſuch was their ſmall diſcerning, thought it a poor indignity, that the high-reared government of the church ſhould ſo on a ſudden, as it ſeemed to them, ſquat into a preſbytery. Next, or rather, before councils, the timelieſt prevention of ſchiſm is to preach the goſpel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to inſtruct the youth religiouſly, to endeavour how the ſcriptures may be eaſieſt underſtood by all men; to all which the proceedings of theſe men have been on ſet purpoſe contrary. But how, O prelates, ſhould you remove ſchiſm? and how ſhould you not remove and oppoſe all the means of removing ſchiſm? when prelaty is a ſchiſm itſelf from the moſt reformed and moſt flouriſhing of our neighbour churches abroad, and a ſad ſubject of diſcord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you allege, is the very diſeaſe we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing itſelf. Your predeceſſors were believed to aſſume this preeminence above their brethren, only that they might appeaſe diſſenſion. Now God and the church call upon you, for the ſame reaſon, to lay it down, as being to thouſands of good men offenſive, burdenſome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge, which, unleſs you foully uſurped it, the church gave you, and now claims it again, for the reaſon ſhe firſt lent it. Diſcharge the truſt committed to you, prevent ſchiſm; and that ye can never do, but by diſcharging yourſelves. That government which ye hold, we confeſs, prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the ſchiſms and grievances of the church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the church alone, but of the whole kingdom. And if it be ſtill permitted ye to hold, will cauſe the moſt ſad, I know not whether ſeparation be enough to ſay, but ſuch a wide gulf of diſtraction in this land, as will never cloſe her diſmal gap

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until ye be forced (for of yourselves you will never do as that Roman, Curtius, nobly did) for the church's peace and your country's, to leap into the midst, and be no more seen. By this we shall know whether yours be that ancient prelaty, which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the church, for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your prelaty is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of yourselves above your brethren; and all your learned scraping in antiquity, even to disturb the bones of old Aaron and his sons in their graves, is but to maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you call sacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverend gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice; in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his church, to law, custom, or nature, ye have resolved to set at nought. I could put you in mind what counsel Clement, a fellow-labourer with the apostles, gave to the presbyters of Corinth, whom the people, though unjustly, sought to remove. "Who among you," saith he, "is noble-minded, who is pitiful, who is charitable? let him say thus, If for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways; only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this," saith he, "shall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receive him." This was Clement's counsel to good and holy men, that they should depart rather from their just office, than by their stay to ravel out the seamless garment of concord in the church. But I have better counsel to give the prelates, and far more acceptable to their ears; this advice in my opinion is fitter for them: cling fast to your pontifical fees, bate not, quit yourselves like barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty courts and votes in parliament. Still tell us, that you prevent schism, though schism and combustion be the very-issue of your bodies, your first-born; and set your country a bleeding in a prelatical mutiny, to fight for your pomp, and that ill-favoured weed of temporal honour, that sits dishonourably upon your laie shoulders;

that

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that ye may be fat and fleſhy, ſwoln with high thoughts and big with miſchievous deſigns, when God comes to viſit upon you all this fourſcore years vexation of his church under your Egyptian tyranny. For certainly of all thoſe bleſſed ſouls which you have perſecuted, and thoſe miſerable ones which you have loſt, the juſt vengeance does not ſleep.

## CHAP. VII.

*That thoſe many ſects and ſchiſms by ſome ſuppoſed to be among us, and that rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a hinderance, but a haſtening of reformation.*

As for thoſe many ſects and diviſions rumoured abroad to be amongſt us, it is not hard to perceive, that they are partly the mere fictions and falſe alarms of the prelates, thereby to caſt amazements and panic terrours into the hearts of weaker chriſtians, that they ſhould not venture to change the preſent deformity of the church, for fear of I know not what worſe inconveniencies. With the ſame objected fears and ſuſpicions, we know that ſubtle prelate Gardner ſought to divert the reformation. It may ſuffice us to be taught by St. Paul, that there muſt be ſects for the manifeſting of thoſe that are ſoundhearted. Theſe are but winds and flaws to try the floating veſſel of our faith, whether it be ſtanch and ſail well, whether our ballaſt be juſt, our anchorage and cable ſtrong. By this is ſeen who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whoſe virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whoſe but a ſlight waſh. If God come to try our conſtancy, we ought not to ſhrink or ſtand the leſs firmly for that, but paſs on with more ſteadfaſt reſolution to eſtabliſh the truth, though it were through a lane of ſects and hereſies on each ſide. Other things men do to the glory of God: but ſects and errours, it ſeems, God ſuffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted conſtancy in the truth. Let us not therefore make theſe things an incumbrance, or an excuſe of our delay in reforming, which God ſends us as an incitement to proceed with more ho-



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nour and alacrity: for if there were no oppoſition, where were the trial of an unfeigned goodneſs and magnanimity? Virtue that wavers is not virtue, but vice revolted from itſelf, and after a while returning. The actions of juſt and pious men do not darken in their middle courſe; but Solomon tells us, they are as the ſhining light, that ſhineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we ſhall ſuffer the trifling doubts and jealouſies of future ſects to overcloud the fair beginnings of purpoſed reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the ſame wiſe man be not upbraided to us, that "the way of the wicked is as darkneſs, they ſtumble at they know not what. If ſects and ſchiſms be turbulent in the unſettled eſtate of a church, while it lies under the amending hand, it beſt beſeems our chriſtian courage to think they are but as the throes and pangs that go before the birth of reformation, and that the work itſelf is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixed things, we know they cannot ſuffer any change of one kind or quality into another, without the ſtruggle of contrarieties. And in things artificial, ſeldom any elegance is wrought without a ſuperfluous waſte and refuſe in the tranſaction. No marble ſtatue can be politely carved, no fair edifice built, without almoſt as much rubbiſh and ſweeping. Inſomuch that even in the ſpiritual conflict of St. Paul's converſion, there fell ſcales from his eyes, that were not perceived before. No wonder then in the reforming of a church, which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falſehood together, if, as it were, the ſplinters and ſhards of ſo violent a jouſting, there fall from between the ſhock many fond errours and fanatic opinions, which, when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation ſhall be perfected, will eaſily be rid out of the way, or kept ſo low, as that they ſhall be only the exerciſe of our knowledge, not the diſturbance or interruption of our faith. As for that which Barclay, in his "Image of Minds," writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Engliſhmen in their religion, I deem it ſpoken like what he was, a fugitive papiſt traducing the iſland whence he ſprung. It may be more judiciouſly gathered from hence, that the Engliſhman of many

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many other nations is leaſt atheiſtical, and bears a natural diſpoſition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakneſs and want of better inſtruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, eſpecially by the meaner ſort, turning the bent of his own wits, with a ſcrupulous and ceaſeleſs care, what he might do to inform himſelf aright of God and his worſhip, he may fall not unlikely ſometimes, as any other landman, into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardlineſs in the roughcaſt without breeding, ſome nation or other may haply be better compoſed to a natural civility and right judgment than he. But if he get the benefit once of a wiſe and well rectified nurture, which muſt firſt come in general from the godly vigilance of the church, I ſuppoſe that wherever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the engliſh people, among the firſt that ſhall be praiſed, may deſerve to be accounted a right pious, right honeſt, and right hardy nation. But thus while ſome ſtand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which ſhould mainly haſten them forward, leſt ſchiſm and errour ſhould increaſe, we may now thank ourſelves and our delays, if inſtead of ſchiſm a bloody and inhuman rebellion be ſtrook in between our ſlow movings. Indeed againſt violent and powerful oppoſition there can be no juſt blame of a lingering diſpatch. But this I urge againſt thoſe that diſcourſe it for a maxim, as if the ſwift opportunities of eſtabliſhing or reforming religion were to attend upon the phlegm of ſtate-buſineſs. In ſtate many things at firſt are crude and hard to digeſt, which only time and deliberation can ſupple and concoct. But in religion, wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of ſeaſon, it goes far otherwiſe. The door of grace turns upon ſmooth hinges wide opening to ſend out, but ſoon ſhutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation: which, unleſs watchfulneſs and zeal, two quickſighted and readyhanded virgins, be there in our behalf to receive, we loſe: and ſtill the oftener we loſe, the ſtraiter the door opens, and the leſs is offered. This is all we get by demurring in God's ſervice. It is not rebellion that ought to be the hinderance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cauſe of that. The prelates which boaſt themſelves the only bridlers of ſchiſm, God knows have been

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been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress heresy and idolatry, that either, through their carelessness, or their craft, all this mischief is befallen. What can the Irish subjects do less in God's just displeasure against us, than revenge upon english bodies the little care that our prelates have had of their souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that island, but ever notorious in queen Elizabeth's days, as Camden their known friend forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they touched with remorse of these their cruelties, (for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famished,) that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who, by their upright and loyal deeds, have now brought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted; toward these murderous Irish, the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed offspring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they seem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion, that hath its cause from the misgovernment of the church? where, but at the church's reformation, and the removal of that government, which pursues and wars with all good christians under the name of schismatics, but maintains and fosters all papists and idolaters as tolerable christians? And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witness of God himself, that the corrupted estate of the church is both the cause of tumult and civil wars, and that to stint them, the peace of the church must first be settled. "Now, for a long season," saith Azariah to king Asa, "Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law; and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore," saith he to the reformers of that age, "and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded." And in those prophets that lived in the times of reformation after the captivity, often doth God stir up the people to consider, that while establishment of church-

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matters was neglected, and put off, there "was no peace to him that went out or came in; "for I," ſaith God, "had ſet all men every one againſt his neighbour." But from the very day forward that they went ſeriouſly and effectually about the welfare of the church, he tells them, that they themſelves might perceive the ſudden change of things into a proſperous and peaceful condition. But it will here be ſaid, that the reformation is a long work, and the miſeries of Ireland are urgent of a ſpeedy redreſs. They be indeed; and how ſpeedy we are, the poor afflicted remnant of our martyred countrymen that ſit there on the ſeaſhore, counting the hours of our delay with their ſighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the diſtilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time caſt off, and almoſt curſed the vain hope of our foundered ſhips and aids, can beſt judge how ſpeedy we are to their relief. But let their ſuccours be haſted, as all need and reaſon is; and let not therefore the reformation, which is the chiefeſt cauſe of ſucceſs and victory, be ſtill procraſtinated. They of the captivity in their greateſt extremities could find both counſel and hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemy's aſſault. And we, for our parts, a populous and mighty nation, muſt needs be fallen into a ſtrange plight either of effeminacy or confuſion, if Ireland, that was once the conqueſt of one ſingle earl with his private forces, and the ſmall aſſiſtance of a petty Kerniſh prince, ſhould now take up all the wiſdom and proweſs of this potent monarchy, to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom, if we take but the right courſe to ſubdue, that is, beginning at the reformation of our church, their own horrid murders and rapes will ſo fight againſt them, that the very ſutlers and horſe-boys of the camp will be able to rout and chaſe them, without the ſtaining of any noble ſword. To proceed by other method in this enterpriſe, be our captains and commanders never ſo expert, will be as great an errour in the art of war, as any novice in ſoldierſhip ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the fear of ſects, no nor rebellion, can be a fit plea to ſtay reformation, but rather to puſh it forward with all poſſible diligence and ſpeed.



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## THE SECOND BOOK.

How happy were it for this frail, and as it may be called mortal life of man, ſince all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily uſe, are withal ſo cumberſome and full of trouble, if knowledge, yet which is the beſt and lightſomeſt poſſeſſion of the mind, were, as the common ſaying is, no burden; and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the ſpirit! For not to ſpeak of that knowledge that reſts in the contemplation of natural cauſes and dimenſions, which muſt needs be a lower wiſdom, as the object is low, certain it is, that he who hath obtained in more than the ſcantieſt meaſure to know any thing diſtinctly of God, and of his true worſhip, and what is infallibly good and happy in the ſtate of man's life, what in itſelf evil and miſerable, though vulgarly not ſo eſteemed; he that hath obtained to know this, the only high valuable wiſdom indeed, remembering alſo that God, even to a ſtrictneſs, requires the improvement of theſe his entruſted gifts, cannot but ſuſtain a ſorer burden of mind, and more preſſing than any ſupportable toil or weight, which the body can labour under; how and in what manner he ſhall diſpoſe and employ thoſe ſums of knowledge and illumination, which God hath ſent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravates the burden more, is, that, having received amongſt his allotted parcels, certain precious truths, of ſuch an orient luſtre as no diamond can equal; which nevertheleſs he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea, for nothing to them that will; the great merchants of this world, fearing that this courſe would ſoon diſcover and diſgrace the falſe glitter of their deceitful wares, wherewith they abuſe the people, like poor Indians with beads and glaſſes, practiſe by all means how they may ſuppreſs the vending of ſuch rarities, and at ſuch a cheapneſs as would undo them, and turn their traſh upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt deſires of men in fleſhly doctrines, they ſtir them up to perſecute with hatred and contempt all thoſe, that ſeek to

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to bear themſelves uprightly in this their ſpiritual factory: which they foreſeeing, though they cannot but teſtify of truth, and the excellency of that heavenly traffick which they bring, againſt what oppoſition or danger ſoever, yet needs muſt it ſit heavily upon their ſpirits, that, being in God's prime intention, and their own, ſelected heralds of peace, and diſpenſers of treaſure ineſtimable, without price to them that have no peace, they find in the diſcharge of their commiſſion, that they are made the greateſt variance and offence, a very ſword and fire both in houſe and city over the whole earth. This is that which the ſad prophet Jeremiah laments: "Wo is me, my mother, that thou haſt born me, a man of ſtrife and contention!" And although divine inſpiration muſt certainly have been ſweet to thoſe ancient prophets, yet the irkſomeneſs of that truth which they brought was ſo unpleaſant unto them, that everywhere they call it a burden. Yea, that myſterious book of revelation, which the great evangeliſt was bid to eat, as it had been ſome eyebrightening electuary of knowledge and foreſight, though it were ſweet in his mouth, and, in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wiſe poet Sophocles, who in that place of his tragedy, where Tireſias is called to reſolve king Œdipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more than other men. For ſurely to every good and peaceable man, it muſt in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the diſpleaſer and moleſter of thouſands; much better would it like him doubtleſs to be the meſſenger of gladneſs and contentment, which is his chief intended buſineſs to all mankind, but that they reſiſt and oppoſe their own true happineſs. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blaſt, it lies not in man's will what he ſhall ſay, or what he ſhall conceal. If he ſhall think to be ſilent, as Jeremiah did, becauſe of the reproach and deriſion he met with daily, "and all his familiar friends watched for his halting," to be revenged on him for ſpeaking the truth, he would be forced to confeſs as he confeſſed; "his word was in my heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones; I was weary with forbearing, and could not ſtay." Which might



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teach theſe times not ſuddenly to condemn all things that are ſharply ſpoken or vehemently written as proceeding out of ſtomach, virulence, and ill-nature; but to conſider rather, that if the prelates have leave to ſay the worſt that can be ſaid, or do the worſt that can be done, while they ſtrive to keep to themſelves, to their great pleaſure and commodity, thoſe things which they ought to render up, no man can be juſtly offended with him that ſhall endeavour to impart and beſtow, without any gain to himſelf, thoſe ſharp but ſaving words, which would be a terrour and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determined to lay up as the beſt treaſure and ſolace of a good old age, if God vouchſafe it me, the honeſt liberty of free ſpeech from my youth, where I ſhall think it available in ſo dear a concernment as the church's good. For if I be, either by diſpoſition or what other cauſe, too inquiſitive, or ſuſpicious of myſelf and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foreſee, that ſhould the church be brought under heavy oppreſſion, and God have given me ability the while to reaſon againſt that man that ſhould be the author of ſo foul a deed; or ſhould ſhe, by bleſſing from above on the induſtry and courage of faithful men, change this her diſtracted eſtate into better days, without the leaſt furtherance or contribution of thoſe few talents, which God at that preſent had lent me; I foreſee what ſtories I ſhould hear within myſelf, all my life after, of diſcourage and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her inſulting enemies, and thou bewaileſt; what matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldſt not find a ſyllable of all that thou haſt read, or ſtudied, to utter in her behalf. Yet eaſe and leiſure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the ſweat of other men. Thou haſt the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain ſubject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cauſe of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpoſe that tongue was given thee which thou haſt, God liſtened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous ſervants, but thou wert dumb as a beaſt; from henceforward be that which thine own brutiſh ſilence hath made thee. Or elſe I ſhould have heard on the other ear; ſlothful, and ever

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ever to be ſet light by, the church hath now overcome her late diſtreſſes after the unwearied labours of many her true ſervants that ſtood up in her defence; thou alſo wouldſt take upon thee to ſhare amongſt them of their joy: but wherefore thou? Where canſt thou ſhow any word or deed of thine which might have haſtened her peace? Whatever thou doſt now talk, or write, or look, is the alms of other men's active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to ſay, or do any thing better than thy former ſloth and infancy; or if thou dareſt, thou doſt impudently to make a thrifty purchaſe of boldneſs to thyſelf, out of the painful merits of other men; what before was thy ſin is now thy duty, to be abject and worthleſs. Theſe, and ſuch like leſſons as theſe, I know would have been my matins duly, and my evenſong. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and ſaints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if ſhe ſhould ſuffer, when others, that have ventured nothing for her ſake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if ſhe lift up her drooping head and proſper, among thoſe that have ſomething more than wiſhed her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward ſubject againſt prelaty, the touching whereof is ſo diſtaſteful and diſquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been ſaid I may deſerve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controverſy, but the enforcement of conſcience only, and a preventive fear leſt the omitting of this duty ſhould be againſt me, when I would ſtore up to myſelf the good proviſion of peaceful hours: ſo, leſt it ſhould be ſtill imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that ſome ſelf-pleaſing humour of vainglory hath incited me to conteſt with men of high eſtimation, now while green years are upon my head; from this needleſs ſurmiſal I ſhall hope to diſſuade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but ſay ſucceſsfully that which in this exigent behoves me; although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom principally for a while I ſhall beg leave I may addreſs myſelf.



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To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praiſe, by the oſtentation of wit and learning, I ſhould not write thus out of mine own ſeaſon when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private ſtudies, although I complain not of any inſufficiency to the matter in hand; or were I ready to my wiſhes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately compoſed to the careleſs and interrupted liſtening of theſe tumultuous times. Next, if I were wiſe only to my own ends, I would certainly take ſuch a ſubject as of itſelf might catch applauſe, whereas this hath all the diſadvantages on the contrary, and ſuch a ſubject as the publiſhing whereof might be delayed at pleaſure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultleſs picture; whenas in this argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good ſpeeding, that if ſolidity have leiſure to do her office, art cannot have much. Laſtly, I ſhould not chooſe this manner of writing, wherein knowing myſelf inferiour to myſelf, led by the genial power of nature to another taſk, I have the uſe, as I may account, but of my left hand. And though I ſhall be fooliſh in ſaying more to this purpoſe, yet, ſince it will be ſuch a folly, as wiſeſt men go about to commit, having only confeſſed and ſo committed, I may truſt with more reaſon, becauſe with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, ſoaring in the high reaſon of his fancies, with his garland and ſinging robes about him, might, without apology, ſpeak more of himſelf than I mean to do; yet for me ſitting here below in the cool element of proſe, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unuſual things of myſelf, I ſhall petition to the gentler ſort, it may not be envy to me. I muſt ſay therefore, that after I had for my firſt years, by the ceaſeleſs diligence and care of my father, (whom God recompenſe!) been exerciſed to the tongues, and ſome ſciences, as my age would ſuffer, by ſundry maſters and teachers both at home and at the ſchools, it was found, that whether aught was impoſed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of mine own choice in Engliſh, or other tongue, proſing or verſing, but chiefly this latter, the ſtyle, by

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by certain vital ſigns it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to reſort, perceiving that ſome trifles which I had in memory, compoſed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one muſt give ſome proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things, which I had ſhifted in ſcarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongſt them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to beſtow on men of this ſide the Alps; I began thus far to aſſent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not leſs to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intenſe ſtudy, (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the ſtrong propenſity of nature, I might perhaps leave ſomething ſo written to after times, as they ſhould not willingly let it die. Theſe thoughts at once poſſeſſed me, and theſe other; that if I were certain to write as men buy leaſes, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be ſooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and inſtruction of my country. For which cauſe, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the ſecond rank among the Latins, I applied myſelf to that reſolution, which Arioſto followed againſt the perſuaſions of Bembo, to fix all the induſtry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curioſities the end, (that were a toilſome vanity,) but to be an interpreter and relater of the beſt and ſageſt things, among mine own citizens throughout this iſland in the mother dialect. That what the greateſt and choiceſt wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and thoſe Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a chriſtian, might do for mine; not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with theſe Britiſh iſlands as my world; whoſe fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as ſome ſay, made their ſmall deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made ſmall by the unſkilful handling of monks and mechanics.



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Time ſerves not now, and perhaps I might ſeem too profuſe to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the ſpacious circuits of her muſing, hath liberty to propoſe to herſelf, though of higheſt hope and hardeſt attempting; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and thoſe other two of Virgil and Taſſo, are a diffuſe, and the book of Job a brief model: or whether the rules of Ariſtotle herein are ſtrictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and uſe judgment, is no tranſgreſſion, but an enriching of art: and laſtly, what king or knight, before the conqueſt, might be choſen in whom to lay the pattern of a chriſtian hero. And as Taſſo gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition againſt the Infidels, or Beliſarius againſt the Goths, or Charlemain againſt the Lombards; if to the inſtinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be truſted, and that there be nothing adverſe in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no raſhneſs, from an equal diligence and inclination, to preſent the like offer in our own ancient ſtories; or whether thoſe dramatic conſtitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, ſhall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The ſcripture alſo affords us a divine paſtoral drama in the Song of Solomon, conſiſting of two perſons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypſe of St. John is the majeſtic image of a high and ſtately tragedy, ſhutting up and intermingling her ſolemn ſcenes and acts with a ſevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping ſymphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus, commenting that book, is ſufficient to confirm. Or if occaſion ſhall lead, to imitate thoſe magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in moſt things worthy, ſome others in their frame judicious, in their matter moſt an end faulty. But thoſe frequent ſongs throughout the law and prophets beyond all theſe, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of compoſition, may be eaſily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poeſy to be incomparable. Theſe abilities, whereſoever they be found, are the inſpired gift of God rarely beſtowed, but yet to ſome (though moſt

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abuſe) in every nation: and are of power, beſide the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cheriſh in a great people the ſeeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and ſet the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightineſs, and what he works, and what he ſuffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to ſing victorious agonies of martyrs and ſaints, the deeds and triumphs of juſt and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith againſt the enemies of Chriſt; to deplore the general relapſes of kingdoms and ſtates from juſtice and God's true worſhip. Laſtly, whatſoever in religion is holy and ſublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatſoever hath paſſion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily ſubtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all theſe things with a ſolid and treatable ſmoothneſs to paint out and deſcribe. Teaching over the whole book of ſanctity and virtue, through all the inſtances of example, with ſuch delight to thoſe eſpecially of ſoft and delicious temper, who will not ſo much as look upon truth herſelf, unleſs they ſee her elegantly dreſſed; that whereas the paths of honeſty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed eaſy and pleaſant, they will then appear to all men both eaſy and pleaſant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be ſoon gueſſed by what we know of the corruption and bane, which they ſuck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetaſters, who having ſcarce ever heard of that which is the main conſiſtence of a true poem, the choice of ſuch perſons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one; do for the moſt part lay up vicious principles in ſweet pills to be ſwallowed down, and make the taſte of virtuous documents harſh and ſour. But becauſe the ſpirit of man cannot demean itſelf lively in this body, without ſome recreating intermiſſion of labour and ſerious things, it were happy for the commonwealth, if our magiſtrates, as in thoſe famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious

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tentious law caſes and brawls, but the managing of our publick ſports and feſtival paſtimes, that they might be, not ſuch as were authoriſed a while ſince, the provocations of drunkenneſs and luſt, but ſuch as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exerciſes to all warlike ſkill and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make diſcreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent academies, and the procurement of wiſe and artful recitations, ſweetened with eloquent and graceful inticements to the love and practice of juſtice, temperance, and fortitude, inſtructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wiſdom and virtue may be heard every where, as Solomon ſaith; "She crieth without, ſhe uttereth her voice in the ſtreets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourſe, and in the openings of the gates." Whether this may not be, not only in pulpits, but after another perſuaſive method, at ſet and ſolemn paneguries, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way, may win moſt upon the people to receive at once both recreation and inſtruction; let them in authority conſult. The thing which I had to ſay, and thoſe intentions which have lived within me ever ſince I could conceive myſelf any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuſe that urgent reaſon hath plucked from me, by an abortive and foredated diſcovery. And the accompliſhment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promiſe; but that none hath by more ſtudious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied ſpirit that none ſhall, that I dare almoſt aver of myſelf, as far as life and free leiſure will extend; and that the land had once enfranchiſed herſelf from this impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whoſe inquiſitorious and tyrannical duncery, no free and ſplendid wit can flouriſh. Neither do I think it ſhame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for ſome few years yet I may go on truſt with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raiſed from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine; like that which flows at waſte from the pen of ſome vulgar amouriſt, or the trencher fury of a rhyming paraſite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her ſiren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich

with

with all utterance and knowledge, and ſends out his ſeraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleaſes: to this muſt be added induſtrious and ſelect reading, ſteady obſervation, inſight into all ſeemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in ſome meaſure be compaſſed, at mine own peril and coſt, I refuſe not to ſuſtain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard ſo much credulity upon the beſt pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have diſcloſed thus much before hand, but that I truſt hereby to make it manifeſt with what ſmall willingneſs I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſs hopes than theſe, and leave a calm and pleaſing ſolitarineſs, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled ſea of noiſes and hoarſe diſputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and ſtill air of delightful ſtudies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities ſold by the ſeeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whoſe learning and belief lies in marginal ſtuffings, who, when they have, like good ſumpters, laid ye down their horſeload of citations and fathers at your door; with a rhapſody of who and who were biſhops here or there, ye may take off their packſaddles, their day's work is done, and epiſcopacy, as they think, ſtoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehenſion, that can diſtinguiſh learned pains from unlearned drudgery, imagine what pleaſure or profoundneſs can be in this, or what honour to deal againſt ſuch adverſaries. But were it the meaneſt underſervice, if God by his ſecretary conſcience enjoin it, it were ſad for me if I ſhould draw back; for me eſpecially, now when all men offer their aid to help, eaſe, and lighten the difficult labours of the church, to whoſe ſervice, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was deſtined of a child, and in mine own reſolutions: till coming to ſome maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders muſt ſubſcribe ſlave, and take an oath withal, which, unleſs he took with a conſcience that would retch, he muſt either ſtraight perjure, or ſplit his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameleſs ſilence before the ſacred office of ſpeaking, bought

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bought and begun with ſervitude and forſwearing. Howſoever thus church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in theſe matters, as before the neceſſity and conſtraint appeared.

## CHAP. I.

*That prelaty oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the goſpel three ways; and firſt, in her outward form.*

AFTER this digreſſion, it would remain that I ſhould ſingle out ſome other reaſon, which might undertake for prelaty to be a fit and lawful church-government; but finding none of like validity with theſe that have already ſped according to their fortune, I ſhall add one reaſon why it is not to be thought a church-government at all, but a church-tyranny, and is at hoſtile terms with the end and reaſon of Chriſt's evangelic miniſtry. Albeit I muſt confeſs to be half in doubt whether I ſhould bring it forth or no, it being ſo contrary to the eye of the world, and the world ſo potent in moſt men's hearts, that I ſhall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be underſtood; for who is there almoſt that meaſures wiſdom by ſimplicity, ſtrength by ſuffering, dignity by lowlineſs? Who is there that counts it firſt to be laſt, ſomething to be nothing, and reckons himſelf of great command in that he is a ſervant? Yet God, when he meant to ſubdue the world and Hell at once, part of that to ſalvation, and this wholly to perdition, made choice of no other weapons, or auxiliaries than theſe, whether to ſave or to deſtroy. It had been a ſmall maſtery for him to have drawn out his legions into array, and flanked them with his thunder; therefore he ſent fooliſhneſs to confute wiſdom, weakneſs to bind ſtrength, deſpiſedneſs to vanquiſh pride: and this is the great myſtery of the goſpel made good in Chriſt himſelf, who, as he teſtifies, came not to be miniſtered to, but to miniſter; and muſt be fulfilled in all his miniſters till his ſecond coming. To go againſt theſe principles St. Paul ſo feared, that if he ſhould but affect the wiſdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his

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charge, that he had made the croſs of Chriſt to be of none effect. Whether, then, prelaty do not make of none effect the croſs of Chriſt, by the principles it hath ſo contrary to theſe, nullifying the power and end of the goſpel, it ſhall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither ſhall I ſtand to trifle with one that would tell me of quiddities and formalities, whether prelaty or prelateity, in abſtract notion be this or that; it ſuffices me that I find it in his ſkin, ſo I find it inſeparable, or not oftener otherwiſe than a phœnix hath been ſeen; although I perſuade me, that whatever faultineſs was but ſuperficial to prelaty at the beginning, is now, by the juſt judgment of God, long ſince branded and inworn into the very eſſence thereof. Firſt, therefore, if to do the work of the goſpel, Chriſt our Lord took upon him the form of a ſervant; how can his ſervant in this miniſtry take upon him the form of a lord? I know Bilſon hath deciphered us all the gallantries of ſignore and monſignore, and monſieur, as circumſtantially as any punctualiſt of Caſtile, Naples, or Fountain-Bleau, could have done: but this muſt not ſo compliment us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a ſervant was a mean, laborious, and vulgar life, apteſt to teach; which form Chriſt thought fitteſt, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles, chooſing the meaner things of this world, that he might put under the high. Now, whether the pompous garb, the lordly life, the wealth, the haughty diſtance of prelaty, be thoſe meaner things of the world, whereby God in them would manage the myſtery of his goſpel, be it the verdict of common ſenſe. For Chriſt ſaith in St. John, "The ſervant is not greater than his lord, nor he that is ſent, greater than he that ſent him;" and adds, "If ye know theſe things, happy are ye if ye do them." Then let the prelates well adviſe, if they neither know, nor do theſe things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their happineſs conſiſts. And thus is the goſpel fruſtrated by the lordly form of prelaty.

CHAP.

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## CHAP. II.

*That the ceremonious doctrine of prelaty oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the goſpel.*

THAT which next declares the heavenly power, and reveals the deep myſtery of the goſpel, is the pure ſimplicity of doctrine, accounted the fooliſhneſs of this world, yet croſſing and confounding the pride and wiſdom of the fleſh. And wherein conſiſts this fleſhly wiſdom and pride? In being altogether ignorant of God and his worſhip? No ſurely, for men are naturally aſhamed of that. Where then? It conſiſts in a bold preſumption of ordering the worſhip and ſervice of God after man's own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wiſdom of the fleſh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt but in that very point wherein it was proudeſt, and thought itſelf wiſeſt, that ſo the victory of the goſpel might be the more illuſtrious. But our prelates, inſtead of expreſſing the ſpritual power of their miniſtry, by warring againſt this chief bulwark and ſtrong hold of the fleſh, have entered into faſt league with the principal enemy againſt whom they were ſent, and turned the ſtrength of fleſhly pride and wiſdom againſt the pure ſimplicity of ſaving truth. Firſt, miſtruſting to find the authority of their order in the immediate inſtitution of Chriſt, or his apoſtles, by the clear evidence of ſcripture, they fly to the carnal ſupportment of tradition; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unwieldy volumes of tradition: and do not ſhame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal, for the perverſe iniquity of ſixteen hundred years; chooſing rather to think truth itſelf a liar, than that ſixteen ages ſhould be taxed with an errour; not conſidering the general apoſtaſy that was foretold, and the church's flight into the wilderneſs. Nor is this enough; inſtead of ſhowing the reaſon of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they ſeek to prove their high preeminence from human conſent and authority. But let them chant while they will of prerogatives,

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rogatives, we ſhall tell them of ſcripture; of cuſtom, we of ſcripture; of acts and ſtatutes, ſtill of ſcripture; till the quick and piercing word enter to the dividing of their ſouls, and the mighty weakneſs of the goſpel throw down the weak mightineſs of man's reaſoning. Now for their demeanour within the church, how have they disfigured and defaced that more than angelic brightneſs, the unclouded ſerenity of chriſtian religion, with the dark overcaſting of ſuperſtitious copes and flaminical veſtures, wearing on their backs, and I abhor to think, perhaps in ſome worſe place, the inexpreſſible image of God the Father? Tell me, ye prieſts, wherefore this gold, wherefore theſe robes and ſurplices over the goſpel? Is our religion guilty of the firſt treſpaſs, and hath need of clothing to cover her nakedneſs? What does this elſe but caſt an ignominy upon the perfection of Chriſt's miniſtry, by ſeeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our ſhame? Believe it, wondrous doctors, all corporeal reſemblances of inward holineſs and beauty are now paſt; he that will clothe the goſpel now, intimates plainly, that the goſpel is naked, uncomely, that I may not ſay reproachful. Do not, ye church-maſkers, while Chriſt is clothing upon our barrenneſs with his righteous garment to make us acceptable in his Father's ſight; do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted clothing of your ceremonies, to make it ſeem more decent in your own eyes. "How beautiful," ſaith Iſaiah, "are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publiſheth ſalvation!" Are the feet ſo beautiful, and is the very bringing of theſe tidings ſo decent of itſelf? What new decency can then be added to this by your ſpinſtry? Ye think by theſe gaudy gliſterings to ſtir up the devotion of the rude multitude; ye think ſo, becauſe ye forſake the heavenly teaching of St. Paul for the helliſh ſophiſtry of papiſm. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the preacher muſt give knowledge, and not ceremonies. And although ſome chriſtians be newborn babes comparatively to ſome that are ſtronger, yet in reſpect of ceremony, which is but a rudiment of the law, the weakeſt chriſtian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal rites. What children's food there is in the goſpel, we

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we know to be no other than the "ſincerity of the word, that they may grow thereby." But is here the utmoſt of your outbraving the ſervice of God? No. Ye have been bold, not to ſet your threſhold by his threſhold, or your poſts by his poſts; but your ſacrament, your ſign, call it what you will, by his ſacrament, baptizing the chriſtian infant with a ſolemn ſprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a prophane and impious forefinger: as if when ye had laid the purifying element upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and croſs it out again with a character not of God's bidding. O but the innocence of theſe ceremonies! O rather the ſottiſh abſurdity of this excuſe. What could be more innocent than the waſhing of a cup, a glaſs, or hands, before meat, and that under the law when ſo many waſhings were commanded, and by long tradition? yet our Saviour deteſted their cuſtoms, though never ſo ſeeming harmleſs, and charges them ſeverely, that they had tranſgreſſed the commandments of God by their traditions, and worſhipped him in in vain. How much more then muſt theſe, and much groſſer ceremonies now in force, delude the end of Chriſt's coming in the fleſh againſt the fleſh, and ſtifle the ſincerity of our new covenant, which hath bound us to forſake all carnal pride and wiſdom, eſpecially in matters of religion? Thus we ſee again how prelaty, failing in oppoſition to the main end and power of the goſpel, doth not join in that myſterious work of Chriſt, by lowlineſs to confound height, by ſimplicity of doctrine the wiſdom of the world, but contrariwiſe hath made itſelf high in the world and the fleſh, to vanquiſh things by the world accounted low, and made itſelf wiſe in tradition and fleſhly ceremony, to confound the purity of doctrine which is the wiſdom of God.

## CHAP. III.

*That prelatical juriſdiction oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel and of State.*

THE third and laſt conſideration remains, whether the prelates in their function do work according to the goſpel, practiſing to ſubdue the mighty things of this world by

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by things weak, which St. Paul hath ſet forth to be the power and excellence of the goſpel; or whether in more likelihood they band themſelves with the prevalent things of this world, to overrun the weak things which Chriſt hath made choice to work by: and this will ſooneſt be diſcerned by the courſe of their juriſdiction. But here again I find my thoughts almoſt in ſuſpenſe betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may beſt retire, and not proceed in this ſubject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixed me too attentively to come thus far. For truth, I know not how, hath this unhappineſs fatal to her, ere ſhe can come to the trial and inſpection of the underſtanding; being to paſs through many little wards and limits of the ſeveral affections and deſires ſhe cannot ſhift it, but muſt put on ſuch colours and attire, as thoſe pathetic handmaids of the ſoul pleaſe to lead her in to their queen: and if ſhe find ſo much favour with them, they let her paſs in her own likeneſs; if not, they bring her into the preſence habited and coloured like a notorious falſehood. And contrary, when any falſehood comes that way, if they like the errand ſhe brings, they are ſo artful to counterfeit the very ſhape and viſage of truth, that the underſtanding not being able to diſcern the fucus which theſe inchantreſſes with ſuch cunning have laid upon the feature ſometimes of truth, ſometimes of falſehood interchangeably, ſentences for the moſt part one for the other at the firſt bluſh, according to the ſubtle impoſture of theſe ſenſual miſtreſſes, that keep the ports and paſſages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already ſaid, I ſhould go near to relinquiſh that which is to follow. And becauſe I ſee that moſt men, as it happens in this world, either weakly or falſely principled, what through ignorance, and what through cuſtom of licence, both in diſcourſe and writing, by what hath been of late written in vulgar, have not ſeemed to attain the deciſion of this point: I ſhall likewiſe aſſay thoſe wily arbitreſſes who in moſt men have, as was heard, the ſole uſhering of truth and falſehood between the ſenſe and the ſoul, with what loyalty they will uſe me in convoying this truth to my underſtanding;



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the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I do not find them engaged either one way or other. Concerning therefore eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, I find ſtill more controverſy, who ſhould adminiſter it; than diligent inquiry made to learn what it is: for had the pains been taken to ſearch out that, it had been long ago enrolled to be nothing elſe but a pure tyrannical forgery of the prelates; and that juriſdictive power in the church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceived that what men now call juriſdiction in the church, ſhould be other thing than a chriſtian cenſorſhip; and therefore it is moſt commonly and truly named eccleſiaſtical cenſure. Now if the roman cenſor, a civil function, to that ſevere aſſize of ſurveying and controlling the privateſt and ſlyeſt manners of all men and all degrees, had no juriſdiction, no courts of plea or inditement, no punitive force annexed; whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of ſuits was improper, or that the notice of thoſe upright inquiſitors extended to ſuch the moſt covert and ſpiritous vices as would ſlip eaſily between the wider and more material graſp of the law; or that it ſtood more with the majeſty of that office to have no other ſergeants or maces about them but thoſe inviſible ones of terrour and ſhame: or, laſtly, were it their fear, leſt the greatneſs of this authority and honour, armed with juriſdiction, might ſtep with eaſe into a tyranny: in all theſe reſpects, with much more reaſon undoubtedly ought the cenſure of the church be quite diveſted and diſentailed of all juriſdiction whatſoever. For if the courſe of judicature to a political cenſorſhip ſeem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the diſcipline of the church, whoſe definitive decrees are to be ſpeedy, but the execution of rigour ſlow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is moſt uſual; and by how much the leſs contentious it is, by ſo much will it be the more chriſtian. And if the cenſor, in his moral epiſcopy, being to judge moſt in matters not anſwerable by writ or action, could not uſe an inſtrument ſo groſs and bodily as juriſdiction is, how can the miniſter of the goſpel manage the corpulent and ſecular trial of bill and proceſs in things merely ſpiritual? Or

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Or could that roman office, without this juridical ſword or ſaw, ſtrike ſuch a reverence of itſelf into the moſt undaunted hearts, as with one ſingle daſh of ignominy to put all the ſenate and knighthood of Rome into a tremble? Surely much rather might the heavenly miniſtry of the evangel bind herſelf about with far more piercing beams of majeſty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the uſe of her powerful keys. For when the church without temporal ſupport is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when ſhe thinks to credit and better her ſpiritual efficacy, and to win herſelf reſpect and dread by ſtrutting in the falſe vizard of worldly authority, it is evident that God is not there, but that her apoſtolic virtue is departed from her, and hath left her key-cold; which ſhe perceiving as in a decayed nature, ſeeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help, and external flouriſhes, to fetch, if it be poſſible, ſome motion into her extreme parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the craſty and artificial heat of juriſdiction. But it is obſervable, that ſo long as the church, in true imitation of Chriſt, can be content to ride upon an aſs, carrying herſelf and her government along in a mean and ſimple guiſe, ſhe may be, as he is, a lion of the tribe of Judah; and in her humility all men with loud hoſannas will confeſs her greatneſs. But when deſpiſing the mighty operation of the Spirit by the weak things of this world, ſhe thinks to make herſelf bigger and more conſiderable, by uſing the way of civil force and juriſdiction, as ſhe ſits upon this lion ſhe changes into an aſs, and inſtead of hoſannas every man pelts her with ſtones and dirt. Laſtly, if the wiſdom of the Romans feared to commit juriſdiction to an office of ſo high eſteem and dread as was the cenſor's, we may ſee what a ſolecifm in the art of policy it hath been, all this while through chriſtendom to give juriſdiction to eccleſiaſtical cenſure. For that ſtrength, joined with religion, abuſed and pretended to ambitious ends, muſt of neceſſity breed the heavieſt and moſt quelling tyranny not only upon the necks, but even to the ſouls of men: which if chriſtian Rome had been ſo cautelous to prevent in her church, as



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pagan Rome was in her ſtate, we had not had ſuch a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all chriſtendom. For although I ſaid before that the church coveting to ride upon the lionly form of juriſdiction, makes a transformation of herſelf into an aſs, and becomes deſpicable, that is, to thoſe whom God hath enlightened with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the reliques of ſuperſtition, this is the extremity of their bondage and blindneſs, that while they think they do obeiſance to the lordly viſion of a lion, they do it to an aſs, that through the juſt judgment of God is permitted to play the dragon among them becauſe of their wilful ſtupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, leſt by leaving juriſdiction and church-cenſure to the ſame perſons, now that God hath been ſo long medicining her eyeſight, ſhe do not with her overpolitic fetches mar all, and bring herſelf back again to worſhip this aſs beſtriding a lion. Having hitherto explained, that to eccleſiaſtical cenſure no juriſdictive power can be added, without a childiſh and dangerous overſight in policy, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelical diſcipline, as anon more fully; it will be next to declare wherein the true reaſon and force of church-cenſure conſiſts, which by then it ſhall be laid open to the root; ſo little is it that I fear leſt any crookedneſs, any wrinkle or ſpot ſhould be found in preſbyterian government, that if Bodin the famous French writer, though a papiſt, yet affirms that the commonwealth which maintains this diſcipline will certainly flouriſh in virtue and piety; I dare aſſure myſelf, that every true proteſtant will admire the integrity, the uprightneſs, the divine and gracious purpoſes thereof, and even for the reaſon of it ſo coherent with the doctrine of the goſpel, beſide the evidence of command in ſcripture, will confeſs it to be the only true church-government; and that contrary to the whole end and myſtery of Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, a falſe appearance of the ſame is exerciſed by prelaty. But becauſe ſome count it rigorous, and that hereby men ſhall be liable to a double puniſhment, I will begin ſomewhat higher, and ſpeak of puniſhment; which, as it is an evil, I eſteem to be of two ſorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate

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a reprobate conſcience in this life, and Hell in the other world. Whatever elſe men call puniſhment or cenſure, is not properly an evil, ſo it be not an illegal violence, but a ſaving medicine ordained of God both for the public and private good of man; who conſiſting of two parts, the inward and the outward, was by the eternal Providence left under two ſorts of cure, the church and the magiſtrate. The magiſtrate hath only to deal with the outward part, I mean not of the body alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts, which in ſcripture is called the outward man. So that it would be helpful to us if we might borrow ſuch authority as the rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of promethean ſkill to ſhape and faſhion this outward man into the ſimilitude of a body, and ſet him viſible before us; imagining the inner man only as the ſoul. Thus then the civil magiſtrate looking only upon the outward man, (I ſay as a magiſtrate, for what he doth further, he doth it as a member of the church) if he find in his complexion, ſkin, or outward temperature the ſigns and marks, or in his doings the effects of injuſtice, rapine, luſt, cruelty, or the like, ſometimes he ſhuts up as in frenetick or infectious diſeaſes; or confines within doors, as in every ſickly eſtate. Sometimes he ſhaves by penalty or mulct, or elſe to cool and take down thoſe luxuriant humours which wealth and exceſs have cauſed to abound. Otherwhiles he fears, he cauterizes, he ſcarifies, lets blood; and finally, for utmoſt remedy cuts off. The patients, which moſt an end are brought into his hoſpital, are ſuch as are far gone, and beſide themſelves, (unleſs they be falſely accuſed) ſo that force is neceſſary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more humane cure. His general end is the outward peace and welfare of the commonwealth, and civil happineſs in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, damage, and diſgrace, that the ſenſes and common perceivance might carry this meſſage to the ſoul within, that it is neither eaſeful, profitable, nor praiſeworthy in this life to do evil. Which muſt needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the firſt means to a natural man, eſpecially an



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offender, which might open his eyes to a higher conſideration of good and evil, as it is taught in religion. This is ſeen in the often penitence of thoſe that ſuffer, who, had they eſcaped, had gone on ſinning to an immeaſurable heap, which is one of the extremeſt puniſhments. And this is all that the civil magiſtrate, as ſo being, confers to the healing of man's mind, working only by terrifying plaſters upon the rind and orifice of the ſore; and by all outward appliances, as the logicians ſay, a poſteriori, at the effect, and not from the cauſe; not once touching the inward bed of corruption, and that hectic diſpoſition to evil, the ſource of all vice and obliquity againſt the rule of law. Which how inſufficient it is to cure the ſoul of man, we cannot better gueſs than by the art of bodily phyſic. Therefore God, to the intent of further healing man's depraved mind, to this power of the magiſtrate, which contents itſelf with the reſtraint of evil-doing in the external man, added that which we call cenſure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmoſt ſoul. In the beginning this authority ſeems to have been placed as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of a family: afterwards among the heathen, in the wiſe men and philoſophers of the age; but ſo as it was a thing voluntary, and no ſet government. More-diſtinctly among the Jews, as being God's peculiar people, where the prieſts, levites, prophets, and at laſt the ſcribes and phariſees, took charge of inſtructing and overſeeing the lives of the people. But in the goſpel, which is the ſtraighteſt and the deareſt covenant can be made between God and man, we being now his adopted ſons, and nothing fitter for us to think on than to be like him, united to him, and, as he pleaſes to expreſs it, to have fellowſhip with him; it is all neceſſity that we ſhould expect this bleſſed efficacy of healing our inward man to be miniſtered to us in a more familiar and effectual method than ever before. God being now no more a judge after the ſentence of the law, nor, as it were, a ſchoolmaſter of periſhable rites, but a moſt indulgent father, governing his church as a family of ſons in their diſcreet age: and therefore, in the ſweeteſt and mildeſt manner of paternal diſcipline, he hath committed this other office of preſerving

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ing in healthful conſtitution the inner man, which may be termed the ſpirit of the ſoul, to his ſpiritual deputy the miniſter of each congregation; who being beſt acquainted with his own flock, hath beſt reaſon to know all the ſecreteſt diſeaſes likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble than the external, by ſo much is his cure more exactly, more thoroughly, and more particularly to be performed. For which cauſe the Holy Ghoſt by the apoſtles joined to the miniſter, as aſſiſtant in this great office, ſometimes a certain number of grave and faithful brethren, (for neither doth the phyſician do all in reſtoring his patient, he preſcribes, another prepares the medicine, ſome tend, ſome watch, ſome viſit) much more may a miniſter partly not ſee all, partly err as a man: beſides, that nothing can be more for the mutual honour and love of the people to their paſtor, and his to them, than when in ſelect numbers and courſes they are ſeen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy duties of diſcipline by their ſerviceable and ſolemn preſence, and receiving honour again from their employment, not now any more to be ſeparated in the church by veils and partitions as laics and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightful clergy of Chriſt, a choſen generation, a royal prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice in that meet place, to which God and the congregation ſhall call and aſſign them. And this all chriſtians ought to know, that the title of clergy St. Peter gave to all God's people, till pope Higinus and the ſucceeding prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themſelves and their prieſts only; and condemning the reſt of God's inheritance to an injurious and alienate condition of laity, they ſeparated from them by local partitions in churches, through their groſs ignorance and pride imitating the old temple, and excluding the members of Chriſt from the property of being members, the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the eccleſiaſtical body; as if they had meant to ſew up that jewiſh veil which Chriſt by his death on the croſs rent in ſunder. Although theſe uſurpers could not ſo preſently overmaſter the liberties and lawful titles of God's freeborn church; but that Origen,



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being yet a layman, expounded the scriptures publicly, and was therein defended by Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, producing in his behalf divers examples, that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy laymen: and Cyprian in his epistles professes he will do nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant laics. Neither did the first Nicene council, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay-brethren, as they were then called. Many other authorities to confirm this assertion, both out of scripture and the writings of next antiquity, Golartius hath collected in his notes upon Cyprian; whereby it will be evident, that the laity, not only by apostolic permission, but by consent of many of the ancienteſt prelates, did participate in church-offices as much as is desired any lay-elder should now do. Sometimes also not the elders alone, but the whole body of the church is interested in the work of discipline, as oft as public satisfaction is given by those that have given public scandal. Not to speak now of her right in elections. But another reason there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in philosophy, that shame, or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren and friends, was the greatest incitement to virtuous deeds, and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad, where Hector being wished to retire from the battle, many of his forces being routed, makes answer, that he durst not for shame, lest the Trojan knights and dames should think he did ignobly. And certain it is, that whereas terrour is thought such a great stickler in a commonwealth, honourable shame is a far greater, and has more reason: for where shame is, there is fear; but where fear is, there is not presently shame. And if any thing may be done, to inbreed in us this generous and christianly reverence one of another, the very nurse and guardian of piety and virtue, it cannot sooner be than by such a discipline in the church, as may use us to have in awe the assemblies of the faithful, and to count it a thing most grievous,

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grievous, next to the grieving of God's ſpirit, to offend thoſe whom he hath put in authority, as a healing ſuperintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happineſs, and that we may not give offence to good men, who, without amends by us made, dare not, againſt God's command, hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcaſt from the company of ſaints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his church, to conſort with the devil and his angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honeſt ſhame, or, call it, if you will, an eſteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own perſons. And if the love of God, as a fire ſent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altars of our hearts, be the firſt principle of all godly and virtuous actions in men, this pious and juſt honouring of ourſelves is the ſecond, and may be thought as the radical moiſture and fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy enterpriſe iſſues forth. And although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet it is not incontinent to bound itſelf, as humid things are, but hath in it a moſt reſtraining and powerful abſtinence to ſtart back, and glob itſelf upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeſeeming motion, or any ſoil wherewith it may peril to ſtain itſelf. Something I confeſs it is to be aſhamed of evildoing in the preſence of any; and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather than a bad, fearing moſt in his ſight to offend, goes ſo far as almoſt to be virtuous; yet this is but ſtill the fear of infamy, and many ſuch, when they find themſelves alone, ſaving their reputation, will compound with other ſcruples, and come to a cloſe treaty with their dearer vices in ſecret. But he that holds himſelf in reverence and due eſteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is viſibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himſelf both a fit perſon to do the nobleſt and godlieſt deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with ſuch a debaſement, and ſuch a pollution as ſin is, himſelf ſo highly ranſomed and ennobled to a new friendſhip and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear

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ſo much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would bluſh at the reflection of his own ſevere and modeſt eye upon himſelf, if it ſhould ſee him doing or imagining that which is ſinful, though in the deepeſt ſecrecy. How ſhall a man know to do himſelf this right, how to perform his honourable duty of eſtimation and reſpect towards his own ſoul and body? which way will lead him beſt to this hilltop of ſanctity and goodneſs, above which there is no higher aſcent but to the love of God, which from this ſelf-pious regard cannot be aſunder? No better way doubtleſs, than to let him duly underſtand, that as he is called by the high calling of God, to be holy and pure, ſo is he by the ſame appointment ordained, and by the church's call, admitted to ſuch offices of diſcipline in the church, to which his own ſpiritual gifts, by the example of apoſtolic inſtitution, have authorized him. For we have learned that the ſcornful term of laic, the conſecrating of temples, carpets, and tablecloths, the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive mount Sinai in the goſpel, as if the touch of a lay-chriſtian, who is nevertheleſs God's living temple, could prophane dead judaiſms, the excluſion of Chriſt's people from the offices of holy diſcipline through the pride of a uſurping clergy, cauſes the reſt to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themſelves, to approach to holy duties with a ſlaviſh fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldneſs. For ſeeing ſuch a wide and terrible diſtance between religious things and themſelves, and that in reſpect of a wooden table, and the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flaggon pot, and a linen corporal, the prieſt eſteems their layſhips unhallowed and unclean, they fear religion with ſuch a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the goſpel too pure for them, and that any uncleanneſs is more ſuitable to their unconſecrated eſtate. But when every good chriſtian, thoroughly acquainted with all thoſe glorious privileges of ſanctification and adoption, which render him more ſacred than any dedicated altar or element, ſhall be reſtored to his right in the church, and not excluded from ſuch place of ſpiritual government, as his chriſtian abilities, and his approved good life in the eye and teſtimony of the church ſhall prefer him to, this and nothing

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nothing ſooner will open his eyes to a wiſe and true valuation of himſelf, (which is ſo requiſite and high a point of chriſtianity,) and will ſtir him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave employment wherewith God and the church hath dignified him; not fearing leſt he ſhould meet with ſome outward holy thing in religion, which his lay-touch or preſence might profane; but leſt ſomething unholy from within his own heart ſhould diſhonour and profane in himſelf that prieſtly unction and clergy-right whereto Chriſt hath entitled him. Then would the congregation of the Lord ſoon recover the true likeneſs and viſage of what ſhe is indeed, a holy generation, a royal prieſthood, a ſaintly communion, the houſehold and city of God. And this I hold to be another conſiderable reaſon why the functions of church-government ought to be free and open to any chriſtian man, though never ſo laic, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour, commend him. And this the apoſtles warrant us to do. But the prelates object, that this will bring prophaneneſs into the church: to whom may be replied, that none have brought that in more than their own irreligious courſes, nor more driven holineſs out of living into lifeleſs things. For whereas God, who hath cleanſed every beaſt and creeping worm, would not ſuffer St. Peter to call them common or unclean, the prelate biſhops, in their printed orders hung up in churches, have proclaimed the beſt of creatures, mankind, ſo unpurified and contagious, that for him to lay his hat or his garment upon the chancel-table, they have defined it no leſs heinous, in expreſs words, than to prophane the table of the Lord. And thus have they by their canaanitiſh doctrine, (for that which was to the Jew but jewiſh, is to the Chriſtian no better than canaanitiſh,) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made prophane that nature, which God hath not only cleanſed, but Chriſt alſo hath aſſumed. And now that the equity and juſt reaſon is ſo perſpicuous, why in eccleſiaſtic cenſure the aſſiſtance ſhould be added of ſuch as whom not the vile odour of gain and fees, (forbid it God, and blow it with a whirlwind out of our land!) but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to church-government hath called together, where could a wiſe man wiſh a more

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equal

equal, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence, that he might happen to commit againſt chriſtianity, than here? Would he prefer thoſe proud ſimoniacal courts? Thus therefore the miniſter aſſiſted attends his heavenly and ſpiritual cure: where we ſhall ſee him both in the courſe of his proceeding, and firſt in the excellency of his end, from the magiſtrate far different, and not more different than excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man, both ſoul and body to an everlaſting health: and yet as for worldly happineſs, which is the proper ſphere wherein the magiſtrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from law, ſo little aims the miniſter, as his intended ſcope, to procure the much proſperity of this life, that oftimes he may have cauſe to wiſh much of it away, as a diet puffing up the ſoul with a ſlimy fleſhineſs, and weakening her principal organic parts. Two heads of evil he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Againſt the former he provides the daily manna of incorruptible doctrine, not at thoſe ſet meals only in public, but as oft as he ſhall know that each infirmity or conſtitution requires. Againſt the latter with all the branches thereof, not meddling with that reſtraining and ſtyptic ſurgery, which the law uſes, not indeed againſt the malady, but againſt the eruptions, and outermoſt effects thereof; he on the contrary, beginning at the prime cauſes and roots of the diſeaſe, ſends in thoſe two divine ingredients of moſt cleanſing power to the ſoul, admonition and reproof; beſides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments are but vain, unleſs by accident. And he that will not let theſe paſs into him, though he be the greateſt king, as Plato affirms, muſt be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of thoſe things wherein his pureneſs and his knowledge ſhould moſt appear. As ſoon therefore as it may be diſcerned that the chriſtian patient, by feeding otherwhere on meats not allowable, but of evil juice, hath diſordered his diet, and ſpread an ill humour through his veins, immediately diſpoſing to a ſickneſs; the miniſter, as being much nearer both in eye and duty than the magiſtrate, ſpeeds him betimes to overtake that diffuſed malignance with ſome gentle potion of admoniſhment; or if



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aught be obſtructed, puts in his opening and diſcuſſive confections. This not ſucceeding after once or twice, or oftener, in the preſence of two or three his faithful brethren appointed thereto, he adviſes him to be more careful of his deareſt health, and what it is that he ſo raſhly hath let down into the divine veſſel of his ſoul, God's temple. If this obtain not, he then, with the counſel of more aſſiſtants, who are informed of what diligence hath been already uſed, with more ſpeedy remedies lays nearer ſiege to the entrenched cauſes of his diſtemper, not ſparing ſuch fervent and well aimed reproofs as may beſt give him to ſee the dangerous eſtate wherein he is. To this alſo his brethren and friends intreat, exhort, adjure; and all theſe endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or leſs repeated. But if neither the regard of himſelf, nor the reverence of his elders and friends prevail with him to leave his vicious appetite; then as the time urges, ſuch engines of terrour God hath given into the hand of his miniſter, as to ſearch the tendereſt angles of the heart: one while he ſhakes his ſtubbornneſs with racking convulſions nigh deſpair, otherwhiles with deadly corroſives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole church beſeech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this performed with what patience and attendance is poſſible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmoſt of their cure, in the name of God and of the church they diſſolve their fellowſhip with him, and holding forth the dreadful ſponge of excommunion, pronounce him wiped out of the liſt of God's inheritance, and in the cuſtody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid ſentence, though it touch neither life nor limb, nor any worldly poſſeſſion, yet has it ſuch a penetrating force, that ſwifter than any chymical ſulphur, or that lightning which harms not the ſkin, and rifles the entrails, it ſcorches the inmoſt ſoul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the church for no other cauſe but to be as a rough and vehement cleanſing medicine, where the malady is obdurate, a mortifying to life, a kind of ſaving by undoing. And it may be truly ſaid, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, ſo the cruelties of the church are mercies. For if repentance ſent from

Heaven

Heaven meet this loſt wanderer, and draw him out of that ſteep journey wherein he was haſting towards deſtruction, to come and reconcile to the church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now clear of infection, and of no danger to the other ſheep; then with incredible expreſſions of joy all his brethren receive him, and ſet before him thoſe perfumed banquets of chriſtian conſolation; with precious ointments bathing and fomenting the old, and now to be forgotten ſtripes, which terrour and ſhame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly ſolaces they cheer up his humble remorſe, till he regain his firſt health and felicity. This is the approved way, which the goſpel preſcribes, theſe are the "ſpiritual weapons of holy cenſure, and miniſterial warfare, not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt." What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of God's breathing, the ſoul, and what could be done leſs? he that would hide his faults from ſuch a wholeſome curing as this, and count it a twofold puniſhment, as ſome do, is like a man, that having foul diſeaſes about him, periſhes for ſhame, and the fear he has of a rigorous inciſion to come upon his fleſh. We ſhall be able by this time to diſcern whether prelatical juriſdiction be contrary to the goſpel or no. Firſt, therefore, the government of the goſpel being economical and paternal, that is, of ſuch a family where there be no ſervants, but all ſons in obedience, not in ſervility, as cannot be denied by him that lives but within the ſound of ſcripture; how can the prelates juſtify to have turned the fatherly orders of Chriſt's houſehold, the bleſſed meekneſs of his lowly roof, thoſe ever-open and inviting doors of his dwelling houſe, which delight to be frequented with only filial acceſſes; how can they juſtify to have turned theſe domeſtic privileges into the bar of a proud judicial court, where fees and clamours keep ſhop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption ſolicits, paltering the free and moneyleſs power of diſcipline with a carnal ſatisfaction by the purſe? Contrition, humiliation, confeſſion, the very ſighs of a repentant

repentant ſpirit, are there ſold by the penny. That undeflowered and unblemiſhable ſimplicity of the goſpel, not ſhe herſelf, for that could never be, but a falſe-whited, a lawny reſemblance of her, like that airborn Helena in the fables, made by the ſorcery of prelates, inſtead of calling her diſciples from the receipt of cuſtom, is now turned publican herſelf; and gives up her body to a mercenary whoredom under thoſe fornicated arches, which ſhe calls God's houſe, and in the ſight of thoſe her altars, which ſhe hath ſet up to be adored, makes merchandiſe of the bodies and ſouls of men. Rejecting Purgatory for no other reaſon, as it ſeems, than becauſe her greedineſs cannot defer, but had rather uſe the utmoſt extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But becauſe theſe matters could not be thus carried without a begged and borrowed force from worldly authority, therefore prelaty, ſlighting the deliberate and choſen council of Chriſt in his ſpiritual government, whoſe glory is in the weakneſs of fleſhly things, to tread upon the creſt of the world's pride and violence by the power of ſpiritual ordinances, hath on the contrary made theſe her friends and champions, which are Chriſt's enemies in this his high deſign, ſmothering and extinguiſhing the ſpiritual force of his bodily weakneſs in the diſcipline of his church with the boiſterous and carnal tyranny of an undue, unlawful, and ungoſpel-like juriſdiction. And thus prelaty, both in her fleſhly ſupportments, in her carnal doctrine of ceremony and tradition, in her violent and ſecular power, going quite counter to the prime end of Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, that is, to reveal his truth, his glory, and his might, in a clean contrary manner than prelaty ſeeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great myſtery of God; I do not conclude that prelaty is antichriſtian, for what need I? The things themſelves conclude it. Yet if ſuch like practices, and not many worſe than theſe of our prelates, in that great darkneſs of the Roman church, have not exempted both her and her preſent members from being judged to be antichriſtian in all orthodoxal eſteem; I cannot think but that it is the abſolute voice of truth and all her children to pronounce this prelaty, and theſe her dark deeds in the midſt of this great light wherein we live, to be more antichriſtian than antichriſt himſelf.

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THE

## THE CONCLUSION.

*The miſchief that prelaty does in the ſtate.*

I ADD one thing more to thoſe great ones that are ſo fond of prelaty: this is certain, that the goſpel being the hidden might of Chriſt, as hath been heard, that ever a victorious power joined with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white horſe with his bow and his crown conquering and to conquer. If we let the angel of the goſpel ride on his own way, he does his proper buſineſs, conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reaſonings of the fleſh, and brings them under to give obedience to Chriſt with the ſalvation of many ſouls. But if ye turn him out of his road, and in a manner force him to expreſs his irreſiſtible power by a doctrine of carnal might, as prelaty is, he will uſe that fleſhly ſtrength, which ye put into his hands, to ſubdue your ſpirits by a ſervile and blind ſuperſtition; and that again ſhall hold ſuch dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an inſatiate greedineſs and force upon your worldly wealth and power, wherewith to deck and magnify herſelf, and her falſe worſhips, he ſhall ſpoil and havoc your eſtates, diſturb your eaſe, diminiſh your honour, enthral your liberty unde rthe ſwelling mood of a proud clergy, who will not ſerve or feed your ſouls with ſpiritual food; look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpoſe. But when they have glutted their ungrateful bodies, at leaſt, if it be poſſible that thoſe open ſepulchres ſhould ever be glutted, and when they have ſtuffed their idoliſh temples with the waſteful pillage of your eſtates, will they yet have any compaſſion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you; will they be but ſo good to you as that raviſher was to his ſiſter, when he had uſed her at his pleaſure; will they but only hate ye, and ſo turn ye looſe? No, they will not, lords and commons, they will not favour ye ſo much. What will they do then in the name of God and ſaints, what will theſe manhaters yet with more

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deſpite and miſchief do? I will tell ye, or at leaſt remember ye, (for moſt of ye know it already,) that they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon, as hey have done to your ſouls, they will ſell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your parliaments, all theſe things; and if there be aught elſe dearer than theſe, they will ſell at an outcry in their pulpits to the arbitrary and illegal diſpoſe of any one that may hereafter be called a king, whoſe mind ſhall ſerve him to liſten to their bargain. And by their corrupt and ſervile doctrines boring our ears to an everlaſting ſlavery, as they have done hitherto, ſo will they yet do their beſt to repeal and eraſe every line and clauſe of both our great charters. Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main reaſon and myſtery of their advancement that they muſt do; be the prince never ſo juſt and equal to his ſubjects, yet ſuch are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they ſo look on him, and ſo underſtand him, as if he required no other gratitude or piece of ſervice from them than this. And indeed they ſtand ſo opportunely for the diſturbing or the deſtroying of a ſtate, being a knot of creatures, whoſe dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the goſpel, as they themſelves acknowledge, but only in the prince's favour, and to continue ſo long to them, as by pleaſing him they ſhall deſerve: whence it muſt needs be they ſhould bend all their intentions and ſervices to no other ends but to his, that if it ſhould happen that a tyrant (God turn ſuch a ſcourge from us to our enemies) ſhould come to graſp the ſceptre, here were his ſpearmen and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he ſhould need no other pretorian band nor penſionary than theſe, if they could once with their perfidious preachments awe the people. For although the prelates in time of popery were ſometimes friendly enough to Magna Charta, it was becauſe they ſtood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the royal nod: but now being well acquainted that the proteſtant religion, if ſhe will reform herſelf rightly by the ſcriptures, muſt undreſs them of all their gilded vanities, and reduce them as they were at firſt, to the lowly and equal order of preſbyters, they know it



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concerns them nearly to ſtudy the times more than the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and obſervance, as ere long it would, and that yet their minds climb ſtill to a higher aſcent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they muſt of neceſſity contrive to bring themſelves and us back again to the pope's ſupremacy; and this we ſee they had by fair degrees of late been doing. Theſe be the two fair ſupporters between which the ſtrength of prelaty is borne up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing popery. Hence alſo we may judge that prelaty is mere falſehood. For the property of truth is, where ſhe is publicly taught to unyoke and ſet free the minds and ſpirits of a nation firſt from the thraldom of ſin and ſuperſtition, after which all honeſt and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long abſent; but prelaty, whom the tyrant cuſtom begot, a natural tyrant in religion, and in ſtate the agent and miniſter of tyranny, ſeems to have had this fatal gift in her nativity, like another Midas, that whatſoever ſhe ſhould touch or come near either in eccleſial or political government, it ſhould turn, not to gold, though ſhe for her part could wiſh it, but to the droſs and ſcum of ſlavery, breeding and ſettling both in the bodies and the ſouls of all ſuch as do not in time, with the ſovereign treacle of ſound doctrine, provide to fortify their hearts againſt her hierarchy. The ſervice of God who is truth, her liturgy confeſſes to be perfect freedom; but her works and her opinions declare, that the ſervice of Prelaty is perfect ſlavery, and by conſequence perfect falſehood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the gentry, ſtudious men as I hear, ſhould engage themſelves to write, and ſpeak publicly in her defence; but that I believe their honeſt and ingenuous natures coming to the univerſities to ſtore themſelves with good and ſolid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing elſe but the ſcragged and thorny lectures of monkiſh and miſerable ſophiſtry, were ſent home again with ſuch a ſcholaſtical bur in their throats, as hath ſtopped and hindered all true and generous philoſophy from entering, cracked their voices for ever

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ever with metaphyſical gargariſms, and hath made them admire a ſort of formal outſide men prelatically addicted, whoſe unchaſtened and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or ſubdued under the true lore of religion or moral virtue, which two are the beſt and greateſt points of learning; but either ſlightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney courſe of literature to get their living by, and dazzle the ignorant, or elſe fondly overſtudied in uſeleſs controverſies, except thoſe which they uſe with all the ſpecious and deluſive ſubtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta; having a goſpel and church-government ſet before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exerciſe the greateſt virtues and the greateſt deeds of chriſtian authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world; (which even the ſage heathen writers, and thoſe old Fabritii and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, than which nothing could liken a mortal man more to God, who delights moſt to work from within himſelf, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal inſtruments;) they underſtand it not, and think no ſuch matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honours, with an eaſy and intemperate life, to the bane of chriſtianity: yea, they and their ſeminaries ſhame not to profeſs, to petition, and never leave pealing our ears, that unleſs we fat them like boars, and cram them as they liſt with wealth, with deaneries and pluralities, with baronies and ſtately preferments, all learning and religion will go under foot. Which is ſuch a ſhameleſs, ſuch a beſtial plea, and of that odious impudence in churchmen, who ſhould be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who ſhould teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promiſe which they themſelves require from us in baptiſm, that ſhould the ſcripture ſtand by and be mute, there is not that ſect of philoſophers among the heathen ſo diſſolute, no not Epicurus, nor Ariſtippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would ſhut his ſchool-doors againſt ſuch greaſy ſophiſters; not any college of mountebanks, but would think ſcorn to diſcover in themſelves with ſuch a brazen forehead the outrageous deſire of filthy lucre. Which the prelates make ſo little conſcience of, that they are



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ready to fight, and, if it lay in their power, to maſſacre all good chriſtians under the names of horrible ſchiſmatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconſcionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their brethren that labour in the word, while they ſnore in their luxurious exceſs: openly proclaiming themſelves now in the ſight of all men, to be thoſe which for a while they ſought to cover under ſheep's clothing, ravenous and ſavage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incurſions upon the flock of Chriſt, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey. More like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waſte and deſolation to the land, unleſs he were daily fattened with virgin's blood. Him our old patron St. George by his matchleſs valour ſlew, as the prelate of the garter that reads his collect can tell. And if our princes and knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of knighthood ſolemnly taken they vow, far be it that they ſhould uphold and ſide with this engliſh dragon; but rather to do as indeed their oath binds them, they ſhould make it their knightly adventure to purſue and vanquiſh this mighty ſail-winged monſter, that menaces to ſwallow up the land, unleſs her bottomleſs gorge may be ſatisfied with the blood of the king's daughter the church; and may, as ſhe was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the ſaints. Nor will any one have reaſon to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be ſpoken of prelaty, if he conſider well from what a maſs of ſlime and mud the ſlothful, the covetous and ambitious hopes of church-promotions and fat biſhoprics, ſhe is bred up and nuzzled in, like a great Python, from her youth, to prove the general poiſon both of doctrine and good diſcipline in the land. For certainly ſuch hopes and ſuch principles of earth as theſe wherein ſhe welters from a young one, are the immediate generation both of a ſlaviſh and tyrannous life to follow, and a peſtiferous contagion to the whole kingdom, till like that fen-born ſerpent ſhe be ſhot to death with the darts of the ſun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word. And this may ſerve to deſcribe to us in part, what prelaty hath been, and what, if ſhe

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ſtand, ſhe is like to be towards the whole body of people in England. Now that it may appear how ſhe is not ſuch a kind of evil, as hath any good or uſe in it, which many evils have, but a diſtilled quinteſſence, a pure elixir of miſchief, peſtilent alike to all; I ſhall ſhow briefly, ere I conclude, that the prelates, as they are to the ſubjects a calamity, ſo are they the greateſt underminers and betrayers of the monarch, to whom they ſeem to be moſt favourable. I cannot better liken the ſtate and perſon of a king than to that mighty Nazarite Samſon; who being diſciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and ſobriety, without the ſtrong drink of injurious and exceſſive deſires, grows up to a noble ſtrength and perfection with thoſe his illuſtrious and ſunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike ſhoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminiſhed and unſhorn, he may with the jawbone of an aſs, that is, with the word of his meaneſt officer, ſuppreſs and put to confuſion thouſands of thoſe that riſe againſt his juſt power. But laying down his head among the ſtrumpet flatteries of prelates, while he ſleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly ſhaving off all thoſe bright and weighty treſſes of his laws, and juſt prerogatives, which were his ornament and ſtrength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counſels, which, as thoſe Philiſtines, put out the fair and far-ſighted eyes of his natural diſcerning, and make him grind in the priſonhouſe of their ſiniſter ends and practices upon him: till he, knowing this prelatical raſor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nouriſh again his puiſſant hair, the golden beams of law and right: and they ſternly ſhook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of thoſe his evil counſellors, but not without great affliction to himſelf. This is the ſum of their loyal ſervice to kings; yet theſe are the men that ſtill cry, The king, the king, the Lord's anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing ſo true; and wonder more, if kings be the Lord's anointed, how they dare thus oil over and beſmear ſo holy an unction with the corrupt and putrid ointment of their baſe flatteries; which, while they ſmooth the ſkin, ſtrike inward and envenom the liſeblood.



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What fidelity kings can expect from prelates, both examples paſt, and our preſent experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath been ſaid, may ſuffice to inform us. And if they be ſuch clippers of regal power, and ſhavers of the laws, how they ſtand affected to the lawgiving parliament, yourſelves, worthy peers and commons, can beſt teſtify; the current of whoſe glorious and immortal actions hath been only oppoſed by the obſcure and pernicious deſigns of the prelates, until their inſolence broke out to ſuch a bold affront, as hath juſtly immured their haughty looks within ſtrong walls. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, than to hinder or break the happy aſſembling of parliaments, however needful to repair the ſhattered and diſjointed frame of the commonwealth; or if they cannot do this, to croſs, to diſcnable, and traduce all parliamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing elſe, plainly accuſes them to be no lawful members of the houſe, if they thus perpetually mutiny againſt their own body. And though they pretend, like Solomon's harlot, that they have right thereto, by the ſame judgment that Solomon gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not only their aſſent, but their endeavour continually to divide parliaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to aboliſh and deſtroy the free uſe of them to all poſterity. For the which, and for all their former miſdeeds, whereof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moiety, I ſhall move ye, lords, in the behalf I dare ſay of many thouſand good chriſtians, to let your juſtice and ſpeedy ſentence paſs againſt this great malefactor prelaty. And yet in the midſt of rigour I would beſeech ye to think of mercy; and ſuch a mercy, (I fear I ſhall overſhoot with a deſire to ſave this falling prelaty,) ſuch a mercy (if I may venture to ſay it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous perſons would have ſaved Sodom. Not that I dare adviſe ye to contend with God, whether he or you ſhall be more merciful, but in your wiſe eſteems to balance the offences of thoſe peccant cities with theſe enormous riots of ungodly miſrule, that prelaty hath wrought both in the church of Chriſt, and in the ſtate of this kingdom. And

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if ye think ye may with a pious preſumption ſtrive to go beyond God in mercy, I ſhall not be one now that would diſſuade ye. Though God for leſs than ten juſt perſons would not ſpare Sodom, yet if you can find, after due ſearch, but only one good thing in prelaty, either to religion or civil government, to king or parliament, to prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth, or learning, ſpare her, let her live, let her ſpread among ye, till with her ſhadow all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darkened and obſcured. But on the contrary, if ſhe be found to be malignant, hoſtile, deſtructive to all theſe, as nothing can be ſurer, then let your ſevere and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your puniſhing force upon this godleſs and oppreſſing government, and bring ſuch a dead ſea of ſubverſion upon her, that ſhe may never in this land riſe more to afflict the holy reformed church, and the elect people of God.



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# ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

# THE REMONSTRANT'S DEFENCE

AGAINST

# SMECTYMNUUS.

## THE PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH it be a certain truth, that they who undertake a religious cauſe need not care to be men-pleaſers; yet becauſe the ſatisfaction of tender and mild conſciences is far different from that which is called men-pleaſing; to ſatisfy ſuch, I ſhall addreſs myſelf in few words to give notice beforehand of ſomething in this book, which to ſome men perhaps may ſeem offenſive, that when I have rendered a lawful reaſon of what is done, I may truſt to have ſaved the labour of defending or excuſing hereafter. We all know that in private or perſonal injuries, yea in public ſufferings for the cauſe of Chriſt, his rule and example teaches us to be ſo far from a readineſs to ſpeak evil, as not to anſwer the reviler in his language, though never ſo much provoked: yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious enemy to truth and his country's peace, eſpecially that is conceited to have a voluble and ſmart fluence of tongue, and in the vain confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly reſpects, ſtands up for all the reſt to juſtify a long uſurpation and convicted pſeudepiſcopy of prelates, with all their ceremonies, liturgies, and tyrannies, which God and man are now ready to explode and hiſs out of the land; I ſuppoſe, and more

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more than ſuppoſe, it will be nothing diſagreeing from chriſtian meekneſs, to handle ſuch a one in a rougher accent, and to ſend home his haughtineſs well beſpurted with his own holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unautoritied either from the moral precept of Solomon, to anſwer him thereafter that prides him in his folly; nor from the example of Chriſt, and all his followers in all ages, who, in the refuting of thoſe that reſiſted ſound doctrine, and by ſubtile diſſimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous ſouls into ſuch vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly ſpoken: for who can be a greater enemy to mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver, than he who, defending a traditional corruption, uſes no common arts, but with a wily ſtratagem of yielding to the time a greater part of his cauſe, ſeeming to forego all that man's invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in ſcripture; yet leaving it hanging by a twined thread, not from divine command, but from apoſtolical prudence or aſſent; as if he had the ſurety of ſome rolling trench, creeps up by this mean to his relinquiſhed fortreſs of divine authority again, and ſtill hovering between the confines of that which he dares not be openly, and that which he will not be ſincerely, trains on the eaſy chriſtian inſenſibly within the cloſe ambuſhment of worſt errours, and with a ſly ſhuffle of counterfeit principles, chopping and changing till he have gleaned all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at laſt, after a ſlight reſemblance of ſweeping and garniſhing, under the ſevenfold poſſeſſion of a deſperate ſtupidity? And therefore they that love the ſouls of men, which is the deareſt love, and ſtirs up the nobleſt jealouſy, when they meet with ſuch colluſion, cannot be blamed though they be tranſported with the zeal of truth to a well heated fervency; eſpecially, ſeeing they which thus offend againſt the ſouls of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gain, eaſe, and advancement in this world; but they that ſeek to diſcover and oppoſe their falſe trade of deceiving, do it not without a ſad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards; but without all private and perſonal

ſpleen,

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ſpleen, and without any thought of earthly reward, whenas this very courſe they take ſtops their hopes of aſcending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the ſerious uncaſing of a grand impoſture (for to deal plainly with you readers, prelaty is no better) there be mixed here and there ſuch a grim laughter, as may appear at the ſame time in an auſtere viſage, it cannot be taxed of levity or inſolence: for even this vein of laughing (as I could produce out of grave authors) hath ofttimes a ſtrong and ſinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and ſcorn together, than a falſe prophet taken in the greateſt, deareſt, and moſt dangerous cheat, the cheat of ſouls: in the diſcloſing whereof, if it be harmful to be angry, and withal to caſt a lowering ſmile, when the propereſt object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to ſay, why thoſe two moſt rational faculties of human intellect, anger and laughter, were firſt ſeated in the breaſt of man. Thus much, readers, in favour of the ſofter ſpirited chriſtian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Only if it be aſked, why this cloſe and ſuccinct manner of coping with the adverſary was rather choſen, this was the reaſon chiefly, that the ingenuous reader, without further amuſing himſelf in the labyrinth of controverſal antiquity, may come to the ſpeedieſt way to ſee the truth vindicated, and ſophiſtry taken ſhort at the firſt falſe bound. Next, that the Remonſtrant himſelf, as oft as he pleaſes to be frolic, and brave it with others, may find no gain of money, and may learn not to inſult in ſo bad a cauſe. But now he begins,

## SECT. I.

Remonſtrant. My ſingle remonſtrance is encountered with a plural adverſary.

Anſwer. Did not your ſingle remonſtrance bring along with it a hot ſcent of your more than ſingular affection to ſpiritual pluralities, your ſingleneſs would be leſs ſuſpected with all good chriſtians than it is.

Remonſt.

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Remonſt. Their names, perſons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know.

Anſw. Their names are known to the all-knowing Power above; and in the mean while, doubtleſs, they reck not whether you or your nomenclator know them or not.

Remonſt. But could they ſay my name is Legion, for we are many?

Anſw. Wherefore ſhould ye begin with the devil's name, deſcanting upon the number of your opponents? Wherefore that conceit of Legion with a by-wipe? Was it becauſe you would have men take notice how you eſteem them, whom through all your book ſo bountifully you call your brethren? We had not thought that Legion could have furniſhed the Remonſtrant with ſo many brethren.

Remonſt. My cauſe, ye gods, would bid me meet them undiſmayed, &c.

Anſw. Ere a foot further we muſt be content to hear a preambling boaſt of your valour, what a St. Dunſtan you are to encounter Legions, either infernal or human.

Remonſt. My cauſe, ye gods.

Anſw. What gods? Unleſs your belly, or the god of this world be he? Show us any one point of your remonſtrance that does not more concern ſuperiority, pride, eaſe, and the belly, than the truth and glory of God, or the ſalvation of ſouls.

Remonſt. My cauſe, ye gods, would bid me meet them undiſmayed, and to ſay with holy David, "though a hoſt, &c."

Anſw. Do not think to perſuade us of your undaunted courage, by miſapplying to yourſelf the words of holy David; we know you fear, and are in an agony at this preſent, leſt you ſhould loſe that ſuperfluity of riches and honour, which your party uſurp. And whoſoever covets, and ſo earneſtly labours to keep ſuch an incumbering ſurcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earthquake ſtill in his bones. You are not armed, Remonſtrant, nor any of your band; you are not dieted, nor your loins girt for ſpiritual valour, and chriſtian warfare, the lug-

gage

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gage is too great that follows your camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily: how ſhall we think you have not carnal fear, while we ſee you ſo ſubject to carnal deſires?

Remonſt. I do gladly fly to the bar.

Anſw. To the bar with him then. Gladly you ſay. We believe you as gladly as your whole faction wiſhed and longed for the aſſembling of this parliament, as gladly as your beneficiaries the prieſts came up to anſwer the complaints and outcries of all the ſhires.

Remonſt. The Areopagi! who were thoſe? Truly, my maſters, I had thought this had been the name of the place, not of the men.

Anſw. A ſoar-eagle would not ſtoop at a fly; but ſure ſome pedagogue ſtood at your elbow, and made it itch with this parlous criticiſm; they urged you with a decree of the ſage and ſevere judges of Athens, and you cite them to appear for certain paragogical contempts, before a capacious pedanty of hot-livered grammarians. Miſtake not the matter, courteous Remonſtrant, they were not making Latin: if in dealing with an outlandiſh name, they thought it beſt not to ſcrew the Engliſh mouth to a harſh foreign termination, ſo they kept the radical word, they did no more than the eleganteſt authors among the Greeks, Romans, and at this day the Italians, in ſcorn of ſuch a ſervility uſe to do. Remember how they mangle our Britiſh names abroad; what treſpaſs were it, if we in requital ſhould as much neglect theirs? And our learned Chaucer did not ſtick to do ſo, writing Semyramis for Semiramis, Amphiorax for Amphiaraus, K. Sejes for K. Ceyx the huſband of Alcyone, with many other names ſtrangely metamorphoſed from the true orthography, if he had made any account of that in theſe kind of words.

Remonſt. Leſt the world ſhould think the preſs had of late forgot to ſpeak any language other than libellous, this honeſt paper hath broken through the throng.

Anſw. Mince the matter while you will, it ſhowed but green practice in the laws of diſcreet rhetoric to blurt upon the ears of a judicious parliament with ſuch a preſumptuous

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ſumptuous and overweening proem: but you do well to be the ſewer of your own meſs.

Remonſt. That which you miſcall the preface, was a too juſt complaint of the ſhameful number of libels.

Anſw. How long is it that you and the prelatical troop have been in ſuch diſtaſte with libels? Aſk your Lyſimachus Nicanor what defaming invectives have lately flown abroad againſt the ſubjects of Scotland, and our poor expulſed brethren of New England, the prelates rather applauding than ſhowing any diſlike: and this hath been ever ſo, inſomuch that ſir Francis Bacon in one of his diſcourſes complains of the biſhops uneven hand over theſe pamphlets, confining thoſe againſt biſhops to darkneſs, but licenſing thoſe againſt puritans to be uttered openly, though with the greater miſchief of leading into contempt the exerciſe of religion in the perſons of ſundry preachers, and diſgracing the higher matter in the meaner perſon.

Remonſt. A point no leſs eſſential to that propoſed remonſtrance.

Anſw. We know where the ſhoe wrings you, you fret and are galled at the quick; and O what a death it is to the prelates to be thus unviſarded, thus uncaſed, to have the periwigs plucked off that cover your baldneſs, your inſide nakedneſs thrown open to public view! The Romans had a time once every year, when their ſlaves might freely ſpeak their minds; it were hard if the freeborn people of England, with whom the voice of truth for theſe many years, even againſt the proverb, hath not been heard but in corners, after all your monkiſh prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your gags and ſnaffles, your proud Imprimaturs not to be obtained without the ſhallow ſurview, but not ſhallow hand of ſome mercenary, narrow-ſouled, and illiterate chaplain; when liberty of ſpeaking, than which nothing is more ſweet to man, was girded and ſtrait-laced almoſt to a broken-winded phthiſic, if now at a good time, our time of parliament, the very jubilee and reſurrection of the ſtate, if now the concealed, the aggrieved, and long perſecuted truth, could not be ſuffered to ſpeak; and though ſhe burſt out with ſome efficacy of words, could not be excuſed

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excuſed after ſuch an injurious ſtrangle of ſilence, nor avoid the cenſure of libelling, it were hard, it were ſomething pinching in a kingdom of free ſpirits. Some princes, and great ſtatiſts, have thought it a prime piece of neceſſary policy, to thruſt themſelves under diſguiſe into a popular throng, to ſtand the night long under eaves of houſes, and low windows, that they might hear every where the utterances of private breaſts, and amongſt them find out the precious gem of truth, as amongſt the numberleſs pebbles of the ſhore; whereby they might be the abler to diſcover, and avoid, that deceitful and cloſe-couched evil of flattery that ever attends them, and miſleads them, and might ſkilfully know how to apply the ſeveral redreſſes to each malady of ſtate, without truſting the diſloyal information of paraſites and ſycophants: whereas now this permiſſion of free writing, were there no good elſe in it, yet at ſome times thus licenſed, is ſuch an unripping, ſuch an anatomy of the ſhyeſt and tendereſt particular truths, as makes not only the whole nation in many points the wiſer, but alſo preſents and carries home to princes, men moſt remote from vulgar concourſe, ſuch a full inſight of every lurking evil, or reſtrained good among the commons, as that they ſhall not need hereafter, in old cloaks and falſe beards, to ſtand to the courteſy of a night-walking cudgeller for eaves-dropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the overhead emptying of ſome ſalt lotion. Who could be angry, therefore, but thoſe that are guilty, with theſe freeſpoken and plain-hearted men that are the eyes of their country, and the proſpective-glaſſes of their prince? But theſe are the nettlers, theſe are the blabbing books that tell, though not half your fellows feats. You love toothleſs ſatires; let me inform you, a toothleſs ſatire is as improper as a toothed ſleek-ſtone, and as bulliſh.

Remonſt. I beſeech you, brethren, ſpend your logic upon your own works.

Anſw. The peremptory analyſis that you call it, I believe will be ſo hardy as once more to unpin your ſpruce faſtidious oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobbins, though ſhe wince and fling never ſo peeviſhly.



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Remonſt. Thoſe verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will ſink alone.

Anſw. O rare ſubtlety, beyond all that Cardan ever dreamed of! when, I beſeech you, will light things ſink? when will light froth ſink alone? Here in your phraſe, the ſame day that heavy plummets will ſwim alone. Truſt this man, readers, if you pleaſe, whoſe divinity would reconcile England with Rome, and his philoſophy make friends nature with the chaos, ſine pondere habentia pondus.

Remonſt. That ſcum may be worth taking off which follows.

Anſw. Spare your ladle, ſir, it will be as the biſhop's foot in the broth; the ſcum will be found upon your own remonſtrance.

Remonſt. I ſhall deſire all indifferent eyes to judge, whether theſe men do not endeavour to caſt unjuſt envy upon me.

Anſw. Agreed.

Remonſt. I had ſaid that the civil polity, as in general notion, hath ſometimes varied, and that the civil came from arbitrary impoſers; theſe gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the preſent and particular government of our monarchy.

Anſw. And deſervedly have they done ſo; take up your logic elſe and ſee: civil polity, ſay you, hath ſometimes varied, and came from arbitrary impoſers; what propoſition is this? Biſhop Downam in his dialectics will tell you it is a general axiom, though the univerſal particle be not expreſſed, and you yourſelf in your defence ſo explain in theſe words as in general notion. Hence is juſtly inferred, he that ſays civil polity is arbitrary, ſays that the civil polity of England is arbitrary. The inference is undeniable, a theſi ad hypotheſin, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in logic.

Remonſt. Brethren, whiles ye deſire to ſeem godly, learn to be leſs malicious.

Anſw. Remonſtrant, till you have better learnt your principles of logic, take not upon you to be a doctor to others.

Remonſt. God bleſs all good men from ſuch charity.

Anſw.

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Anſw. I never found that logical maxims were uncharitable before; yet ſhould a jury of logicians paſs upon you, you would never be ſaved by the book.

Remonſt. And our ſacred monarchy from ſuch friends.

Anſw. Add, as the prelates.

Remonſt. If epiſcopacy have yoked monarchy, it is the inſolence of the perſons, not the fault of the calling.

Anſw. It was the fault of the perſons, and of no calling: we do not count prelaty a calling.

Remonſt. The teſtimony of a pope (whom theſe men honour highly).

Anſw. That ſlanderous inſertion was doubtleſs a pang of your incredible charity, the want whereof you lay ſo often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapped up in a parentheſis, a piece of the clergy benevolence laid by to maintain the epiſcopal broil, whether the 1000 horſe or no, time will diſcover: for certainly had thoſe cavaliers come on to play their parts, ſuch a ticket as this of highly honouring the pope, from the hand of a prelate, might have been of ſpecial uſe and ſafety to them that had cared for ſuch a ranſom.

Remonſt. And what ſays Antichriſt?

Anſw. Aſk your brethren the prelates, that hold intelligence with him, aſk not us. But is the pope antichriſt now? Good news! take heed you be not ſhent for this; for it is verily thought, that had this bill been put in againſt him in your laſt convocation, he would have been cleared by moſt voices.

Remonſt. Any thing ſerves againſt epiſcopacy.

Anſw. See the frowardneſs of this man, he would perſuade us, that the ſucceſſion and divine right of biſhopdom hath been unqueſtionable through all ages; yet when they bring againſt him kings, they were irreligious; popes, they are antichriſt. By what era of computation, through what fairy land, would the man deduce this perpetual beadroll of uncontradicted epiſcopacy? The pope may as well boaſt his ungainſaid authority to them that will believe, that all his contradicters were either irreligious or heretical.

Remonſt. If the biſhops, ſaith the pope, be declared to be of divine right, they would be exempted from regal power; and if there might be this danger in thoſe kingdoms,

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kingdoms, why is this enviouſly upbraided to thoſe of ours? who do gladly profeſs, &c.

Anſw. Becauſe your diſſevered principles were but like the mangled pieces of a gaſhed ſerpent, that now begun to cloſe, and grow together popiſh again. Whatſoever you now gladly profeſs out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought yourſelves ſecure.

Remonſt. It is a foul ſlander to charge the name of epiſcopacy with a faction, for the fact imputed to ſome few.

Anſw. The more foul your faction that hath brought a harmleſs name into obloquy, and the fact may juſtly be imputed to all of ye that ought to have withſtood it, and did not.

Remonſt. Fie brethren! are ye the preſbyters of the church of England, and dare challenge epiſcopacy of faction?

Anſw. Yes, as oft as epiſcopacy dares be factious.

Remonſt. Had you ſpoken ſuch a word in the time of holy Cyprian, what had become of you?

Anſw. They had neither been haled into your Gehenna at Lambeth, nor ſtrapadoed with an oath ex officio by your bowmen of the arches: and as for Cyprian's time the cauſe was far unlike, he indeed ſucceeded into an epiſcopacy that began then to prelatize; but his perſonal excellence like an antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption, which was then a diſeaſe that lay hid for a while under ſhow of a full and healthy conſtitution, as thoſe hydropic humours not diſcernible at firſt from a fair and juicy fleſhineſs of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour, which ſeems graceful to a cheek otherwiſe pale; and yet ariſes from evil cauſes, either of ſome inward obſtruction or inflammation, and might deceive the firſt phyſicians till they had learned the ſequel, which Cyprian's days did not bring forth; and the prelatiſm of epiſcopacy, which began then to burgeon and ſpread, had as yet, eſpecially in famous men, a fair, though a falſe imitation of flouriſhing.

Remonſt. Neither is the wrong leſs to make application of that which was moſt juſtly charged upon the



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practices and combinations of libelling ſeparatiſts, whom I deſervedly cenſured, &c.

Anſw. To conclude this ſection, our Remonſtrant we ſee is reſolved to make good that which was formerly ſaid of his book, that it was neither humble nor a remonſtrance, and this his defence is of the ſame complexion. When he is conſtrained to mention the notorious violence of his clergy attempted on the church of Scotland, he ſlightly terms it a fact imputed to ſome few; but when he ſpeaks of that which the parliament vouchſafes to name the city petition, "which I," ſaith he, (as if the ſtate had made him public cenſor) "deſervedly cenſured." And how? As before for a tumultuary and underhand way of procured ſubſcriptions, ſo now in his defence more bitterly, as the practices and combinations of libelling ſeparatiſts, and the miſzealous advocates thereof, juſtly to be branded for incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our chief city to be noted with ſuch an infamy for a petition, which not without ſome of the magiſtrates, and great numbers of ſober and conſiderable men, was orderly and meekly preſented, although our great clerks think that theſe men, becauſe they have a trade, (as Chriſt himſelf and St. Paul had) cannot therefore attain to ſome good meaſure of knowledge, and to a reaſon of their actions, as well as they that ſpend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their ſtudies in unprofitable queſtions and barbarous ſophiſtry, their middle age in ambition and idleneſs, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diſeaſes. And whether this reflect not with a contumely upon the parliament itſelf, which thought this petition worthy, not only of receiving, but of voting to a commitment, after it had been advocated, and moved for by ſome honourable and learned gentlemen of the houſe, to be called a combination of libelling ſeparatiſts, and the advocates thereof to be branded for incendiaries; whether this appeach not the judgment and approbation of the parliament I leave to equal arbiters.

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SECT. II.

Remonſt. After the overflowing of your gall, you deſcend to liturgy and epiſcopacy.

Anſw. The overflow being paſt, you cannot now in your own judgment impute any bitterneſs to their following diſcourſes.

Remonſt. Dr. Hall, whom you name I dare ſay for honour's ſake.

Anſw. You are a merry man, ſir, and dare ſay much.

Remonſt. And why ſhould not I ſpeak of martyrs, as the authors and uſers of this holy liturgy?

Anſw. As the authors! the tranſlators, you might perhaps have ſaid: for Edward the ſixth, as Hayward hath written in his ſtory, will tell you upon the word of a king, that the order of the ſervice, and the uſe thereof in the Engliſh tongue, is no other than the old ſervice was, and the ſame words in Engliſh which were in Latin, except a few things omitted, ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in Engliſh; theſe are his words: whereby we are left uncertain who the author was, but certain that part of the work was eſteemed ſo abſurd by the tranſlators thereof, as was to be aſhamed of in Engliſh. O but the martyrs were the refiners of it, for that only is left you to ſay. Admit they were, they could not refine a ſcorpion into a fiſh, though they had drawn it, and rinced it with never ſo cleanly cookery, which made them fall at variance among themſelves about the uſe either of it, or the ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonſt. Slight you them as you pleaſe, we bleſs God for ſuch patrons of our good cauſe.

Anſw. O Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc eſt contrarius atro. Are not theſe they which one of your biſhops in print ſcornfully terms the Foxian confeſſors? Are not theſe they whoſe acts and monuments are not only ſo contemptible, but ſo hateful to the prelates, that their ſtory was almoſt come to be a prohibited book, which for theſe two or three editions hath crept into the world by ſtealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the biſhops, as many



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honeſt men that had to do in ſetting forth the book will juſtify? And now at a dead lift for your liturgies you bleſs God for them: out upon ſuch hypocriſy!

Remonſt. As if we were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every biſhop.

Anſw. Your faction then belike is a ſubtile Janus, and hath two faces: your bolder face to ſet forward any innovations or ſcandals in the church, your cautious and wary face to diſavow them if they ſucceed not, that ſo the fault may not light upon the function, leſt it ſhould ſpoil the whole plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound. Wherefore elſe did you not long ago, as a good biſhop ſhould have done, diſclaim and proteſt againſt them? Wherefore have you ſat ſtill, and complied and hoodwinked, till the general complaints of the land have ſqueezed you to a wretched, cold, and hollow-hearted confeſſion of ſome prelatical riots both in this and other places of your book? Nay, what if you ſtill defend them as follows?

Remonſt. If a biſhop have ſaid that our liturgy hath been ſo wiſely and charitably framed, as that the devotion of it yieldeth no cauſe of offence to a very pope's ear.

Anſw. O new and never heard of ſupererogative height of wiſdom and charity in our liturgy! Is the wiſdom of God or the charitable framing of God's word otherwiſe inoffenſive to the pope's ear, than as he may turn it to the working of his myſterious iniquity? A little pulley would have ſtretched your wiſe and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the devotion of it might have yielded no cauſe of offence to the very devil's ear, and that had been the ſame wiſdom and charity ſurmounting to the higheſt degree. For Antichriſt we know is but the devil's vicar, and therefore pleaſe him with your liturgy, and you pleaſe his maſter.

Remonſt. Would you think it requiſite, that we ſhould chide and quarrel when we ſpeak to the God of peace?

Anſw. Fie, no ſir, but forecaſt our prayers ſo, that Satan and his inſtruments may take as little exception againſt them as may be, leſt they ſhould chide and quarrel with us.

Remonſt. It is no little advantage to our cauſe and



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piety, that our liturgy is taught to ſpeak ſeveral languages for uſe and example.

Anſw. The language of Aſhdod is one of them, and that makes ſo many Engliſhmen have ſuch a ſmattering of their philiſtian mother. And indeed our liturgy hath run up and down the world like an engliſh galloping nun proffering herſelf, but we hear of none yet that bids money for her.

Remonſt. As for that ſharp cenſure of learned Mr. Calvin, it might well have been forborn by him in aliena republica.

Anſw. Thus this untheological remonſtrant would divide the individual catholic church into ſeveral republics: know, therefore, that every worthy paſtor of the church of Chriſt hath univerſal right to admoniſh over all the world within the church; nor can that care be aliened from him by any diſtance or diſtinction of nation, ſo long as in Chriſt all nations and languages are as one houſehold.

Remonſt. Neither would you think it could become any of our greateſt divines, to meddle with his charge.

Anſw. It hath ill become them indeed to meddle ſo maliciouſly, as many of them have done, though that patient and chriſtian city hath borne hitherto all their profane ſcoffs with ſilence.

Remonſt. Our liturgy paſſed the judgment of no leſs reverend heads than his own.

Anſw. It bribed their judgments with worldly engagements, and ſo paſſed it.

Remonſt. As for that unparallelled diſcourſe concerning the antiquity of liturgies, I cannot help your wonder, but ſhall juſtify mine own aſſertion.

Anſw. Your juſtification is but a miſerable ſhifting off thoſe teſtimonies of the ancienteſt fathers alleged againſt you, and the authority of ſome ſynodal canons, which are now arrant to us. We profeſs to decide our controverſies only by the ſcriptures; but yet to repreſs your vain-glory, there will be voluntarily beſtowed upon you a ſufficient conviction of your novelties out of ſucceeding antiquity.

Remonſt. I cannot ſee how you will avoid your own contradiction, for I demand, is this order of praying and

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adminiſtration ſet or no? If it be not ſet, how is it an order? And if it be a ſet order both for matter and form——

Anſw. Remove that form, leſt you tumble over it, while you make ſuch haſte to clap a contradiction upon others.

Remonſt. If the forms were merely arbitrary, to what uſe was the preſcription of an order?

Anſw. Nothing will cure this man's underſtanding but ſome familiar and kitchen phyſic, which, with pardon, muſt for plainneſs ſake be adminiſtered to him. Call hither your cook. The order of breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper, anſwer me, is it ſet or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to poached eggs and vinegar, or at noon to brawn or beef, or at night to freſh ſalmon, and french kickſhoſe? May he not make his meals in order, though he be not bound to this or that viand? Doubtleſs the neat-fingered artiſt will anſwer yes, and help us out of this great controverſy without more trouble. Can we not underſtand an order in church-aſſemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and adminiſtering, unleſs our prayers be ſtill the ſame crambe of words?

Remonſt. What a poor exception is this, that liturgies were compoſed by ſome particular men?

Anſw. It is a greater preſumption in any particular men, to arrogate to themſelves that which God univerſally gives to all his miniſters. A miniſter that cannot be truſted to pray in his own words without being chewed to, and feſcued to a formal injunction of his rote-leſſon, ſhould as little be truſted to preach, beſides the vain babble of praying over the ſame things immediately again; for there is a large difference in the repetition of ſome pathetical ejaculation raiſed out of the ſudden earneſtneſs and vigour of the inflamed ſoul, (ſuch as was that of Chriſt in the garden,) from the continual rehearſal of our daily oriſons; which if a man ſhall kneel down in a morning, and ſay over, and preſently in another part of the room kneel down again, and in other words aſk but ſtill for the ſame things as it were out of one inventory, I cannot ſee how he will eſcape that heatheniſh

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thenish battology of multiplying words, which Chriſt himſelf, that has the putting up of our prayers, told us would not be acceptable in Heaven. Well may men of eminent gifts ſet forth as many forms, and helps to prayer as they pleaſe; but to impoſe them on miniſters lawfully called, and ſufficiently tried, as all ought to be ere they be admitted, is a ſupercilious tyranny, impropriating the ſpirit of God to themſelves.

Remonſt. Do we abridge this liberty by ordaining a public form?

Anſw. Your biſhops have ſet as fair to do it as they durſt for that old phariſaical fear that ſtill dogs them, the fear of the people; though you will ſay you are none of thoſe, ſtill you would ſeem not to have joined with the worſt, and yet keep aloof off from that which is beſt. I would you would either mingle, or part: moſt true it is what Savanarola complains, that while he endeavoured to reform the church, his greateſt enemies were ſtill theſe lukewarm ones.

Remonſt. And if the Lord's prayer be an ordinary and ſtinted form, why not others?

Anſw. Becauſe there be no other Lords, that can ſtint with like authority.

Remonſt. If Juſtin Martyr ſaid, that the inſtructor of the people prayed (as they falſely turn it) "according to his ability."

Anſw. Ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ will be ſo rendered to the world's end by thoſe that are not to learn Greek of the Remonſtrant, and ſo Langus renders it to his face, if he could ſee; and this ancient father mentions no antiphonies or reſponſories of the people here, but the only plain acclamation of Amen.

Remonſt. The inſtructor of the people prayed according to his ability, it is true, ſo do ours: and yet we have a liturgy, and ſo had they.

Anſw. A quick come-off. The ancients uſed pikes and targets, and therefore guns and great ordnance, becauſe we uſe both.

Remonſt. Neither is this liberty of pouring out ourſelves in our prayers ever the more impeached by a public form.



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Anſw. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious number of liturgical tautologies, and impertinencies.

Remonſt. The words of the council are full and affirmative.

Anſw. Set the grave councils up upon their ſhelves again, and ſtring them hard, leſt their various and jangling opinions put their leaves into a flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot ſeaſon to bid you the baſe through the wide and duſty champaign of the councils, but ſhall take counſel of that which counſelled them, reaſon: and although I know there is an obſolete reprehenſion now at your tongue's end, yet I ſhall be bold to ſay, that reaſon is the gift of God in one man as well as in a thouſand: by that which we have taſted already of their ciſterns, we may find that reaſon was the only thing, and not any divine command that moved them to enjoin ſet forms of liturgy. Firſt, leſt any thing in general might be miſſaid in their public prayers through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith: and next, leſt the Arians, and Pelagians in particular, ſhould infect the people by their hymns, and forms of prayer. By the leave of theſe ancient fathers, this was no ſolid prevention of ſpreading hereſy, to debar the miniſters of God the uſe of their nobleſt talent, prayer in the congregation; unleſs they had forbid the uſe of ſermons, and lectures too, but ſuch as were ready made to their hands, as our homilies: or elſe he that was heretically diſpoſed, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his diſcourſe as in his prayer or hymn. As inſufficiently, and to ſay truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived liturgies, leſt any thing ſhould be erroneouſly prayed through ignorance, or want of care in the miniſters. For if they were careleſs and ignorant in their prayers, certainly they would be more careleſs in their preaching, and yet more careleſs in watching over their flock; and what preſcription could reach to bound them both in theſe? What if reaſon, now illuſtrated by the word of God, ſhall be able to produce a better prevention than theſe councils have left us againſt hereſy, ignorance, or want of care in the miniſtry, that ſuch wiſdom and diligence be uſed in the education of thoſe that would be miniſters, and ſuch ſtrict

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ſtrict and ſerious examination to be undergone, ere their admiſſion, as St. Paul to Timothy ſets down at large, and then they need not carry ſuch an unworthy ſuſpicion over the preachers of God's word, as to tutor their unſoundneſs with the * Abcie of a liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a matin, and evenſong drench. All this may ſuffice after all their labourſome ſcrutiny of the councils.

Remonſt. Our Saviour was pleaſed to make uſe in the celebration of his laſt and heavenly banquet both of the faſhions and words which were uſual in the Jewiſh feaſts.

Anſw. What he pleaſed to make uſe of, does not juſtify what you pleaſe to force.

Remonſt. The ſet forms of prayer at the Mincha.

Anſw. We will not buy your rabbinical fumes; we have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold tried in the fire.

Remonſt. In the ſamaritan chronicle.

Anſw. As little do we eſteem your ſamaritan trumpery, of which people Chriſt himſelf teſtifies, Ye worſhip ye know not what.

Remonſt. They had their ſeveral ſongs.

Anſw. And ſo have we our ſeveral pſalms for ſeveral occaſions, without gramercy to your liturgy.

Remonſt. Thoſe forms which we have under the names of Saint James, &c., though they have ſome inſertions which are plainly ſpurious, yet the ſubſtance of them cannot be taxed for other than holy and ancient.

Anſw. Setting aſide the odd coinage of your phraſe, which no mint-maſter of language would allow for ſterling, that a thing ſhould be taxed for no other than holy and ancient, let it be ſuppoſed the ſubſtance of them may ſavour of ſomething holy or ancient, this is but the matter; the form, and the end of the thing may yet render it either ſuperſtitious, fruitleſs, or impious, and ſo worthy to be rejected. The garments of a ſtrumpet are often the ſame, materially, that clothe a chaſte matron, and yet ignominious for her to wear: the ſubſtance of the tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing leſs.

* i. e. A, b, c.

Remonſt.

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Remonſt. In what ſenſe we hold the Roman a true church, is ſo cleared that the iron is too hot for their fingers.

Anſw. Have a care it be not the iron to ſear your own conſcience.

Remonſt. You need not doubt but that the alteration of the liturgy will be conſidered by wiſer heads than your own.

Anſw. We doubt it not, becauſe we know your head looks to be one.

Remonſt. Our liturgy ſymbolizeth not with popi maſs, neither as maſs nor as popiſh.

Anſw. A pretty ſlipſkin conveyance to ſift maſs into no maſs, and popiſh into not popiſh; yet ſaving this paſſing fine ſophiſtical boulting hutch, ſo long as ſhe ſymbolizes in form, and pranks herſelf in the weeds of popiſh maſs, it may be juſtly feared ſhe provokes the jealouſy of God, no otherwiſe than a wife affecting whoriſh attire kindles a diſturbance in the eye of her diſcerning huſband.

Remonſt. If I find gold in the channel, ſhall I throw it away becauſe it was ill laid?

Anſw. You have forgot that gold hath been anathematized for the idolatrous uſe; and to eat the good creatures of God once offered to idols, is in St. Paul's account to have fellowſhip with devils, and to partake of the devil's table. And thus you throttle yourſelf with your own ſimilies.

Remonſt. If the devils confeſſed the Son of God, ſhall I diſclaim that truth?

Anſw. You ſifted not ſo clean before, but you ſhuffle as foully now; as if there were the like neceſſity of confeſſing Chriſt, and uſing the liturgy: we do not diſclaim that truth, becauſe we never believed it for their teſtimony; but we may well reject a liturgy which had no being that we can know of, but from the corrupteſt times: if therefore the devil ſhould be given never ſo much to prayer, I ſhould not therefore ceaſe from that duty, becauſe I learned it not from him; but if he would commend to me a new Pater-noſter, though never ſo ſeemingly holy, he ſhould excuſe me the form which

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was his; but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I be ſaid to take it from him. It is not the goodneſs of matter therefore which is not, nor can be owed to the liturgy, that will bear it out, if the form, which is the eſſence of it, be fantaſtic and ſuperſtitious, the end ſiniſter, and the impoſition violent.

Remonſt. Had it been compoſed into this frame on purpoſe to bring papiſts to our churches.

Anſw. To bring them to our churches? alas, what was that? unleſs they had been firſt fitted by repentance, and right inſtruction. You will ſay, the word was there preached, which is the means of converſion; you ſhould have given ſo much honour then to the word preached, as to have left it to God's working without the interloping of a liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remonſt. The project had been charitable and gracious.

Anſw. It was phariſaical, and vain-glorious, a greedy deſire to win proſelytes by conforming to them unlawfully; like the deſire of Tamar, who, to raiſe up ſeed to her huſband, ſate in the common road dreſt like a courtezan, and he that came to her committed inceſt with her. This was that which made the old chriſtians paganize, while by their ſcandalous and baſe conforming to heatheniſm they did no more, when they had done their utmoſt, but bring ſome pagans to chriſtianize; for true chriſtians they neither were themſelves, nor could make other ſuch in this faſhion.

Remonſt. If there be found aught in liturgy that may endanger a ſcandal, it is under careful hands to remove it.

Anſw. Such careful hands as have ſhown themſelves ſooner bent to remove and expel the men from the ſcandals, than the ſcandals from the men, and to loſe a ſoul rather than a ſyllable or a ſurplice.

Remonſt. It is idolized they ſay in England, they mean at Amſterdam.

Anſw. Be it idolized therefore where it will, it is only idolatrized in England.

Remonſt. Multitudes of people they ſay diſtaſte it; more ſhame for thoſe that have ſo miſtaught them.

Anſw. More ſhame for thoſe that regard not the trou-

bling

bling God's church with things by themſelves confeſſed to be indifferent, ſince true charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the chriſtian multitude which you affirm to be ſo miſtaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaim never ſo long to the contrary, that God hath now taught them to deteſt your liturgy and prelacy; God who hath promiſed to teach all his children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their ſouls: hence is it that a man ſhall commonly find more ſavoury knowledge in one layman, than in a dozen of cathedral prelates; as we read in our Saviour's time that the common people had a reverend eſteem of him, and held him a great prophet, whilſt the gowned rabbies, the incomparable and invincible doctors were of opinion that he was a friend of Beelzebub.

Remonſt. If the multitude diſtaſte wholeſome doctrine, ſhall we, to humour them, abandon it?

Anſw. Yet again! as if there were like neceſſity of ſaving doctrine, and arbitrary, if not unlawful, or inconvenient liturgy: who would have thought a man could have thwacked together ſo many incongruous ſimilitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patched miſſal?

Remonſt. Why did not other churches conform to us? I may boldly ſay ours was, and is, the more noble church.

Anſw. O Laodicean, how vainly and how carnally doſt thou boaſt of nobleneſs and precedency! more lordly you have made our church indeed, but not more noble.

Remonſt. The ſecond quære is ſo weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wiſe men.

Anſw. You are but a bad fencer, for you never make a proffer againſt another man's weakneſs; but you leave your own ſide always open: mark what follows.

Remonſt. Brethren, can ye think that our reformers had any other intentions than all the other founders of liturgies, the leaſt part of whoſe care was the help of the miniſter's weakneſs?

Anſw. Do you not perceive the nooſe you have brought yourſelf into, whilſt you were ſo brief to taunt other men with weakneſs? Is it clean out of your mind what you cited from among the councils; that the principal

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cipal ſcope of thoſe liturgy-founders was to prevent either the malice or the weakneſs of the miniſters; their malice, of infuſing hereſy in their forms of prayer; their weakneſs, leſt ſomething might be compoſed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the faith? Is it not now rather to be wondered, that ſuch a weakneſs could fall from the pen of ſuch a wiſe remonſtrant man?

Remonſt. Their main drift was the help of the people's devotion, that they knowing before the matter that ſhould be ſued for,—

Anſw. A ſolicitous care, as if the people could be ignorant of the matter to be prayed for; ſeeing the heads of public prayer are either ever conſtant, or very frequently the ſame.

Remonſt. And the words wherewith it ſhould be clothed, might be the more prepared, and be ſo much the more intent and leſs diſtracted.

Anſw. As for the words, it is more to be feared leſt the ſame continually ſhould make them careleſs or ſleepy, than that variety on the ſame known ſubject ſhould diſtract; variety (as both muſic and rhetoric teacheth us) erects and rouſes an auditory, like the maſterful running over many chords and diviſions; whereas if men ſhould ever be thumbing the drone of one plain ſong, it would be a dull opiate to the moſt wakeful attention.

Remonſt. Tell me, is this liturgy good or evil?

Anſw. It is evil: repair the acheloian horn of your dilemma how you can, againſt the next puſh.

Remonſt. If it be evil, it is unlawful to be uſed.

Anſw. We grant you, and we find you have not your ſalve about you.

Remonſt. Were the impoſition amiſs, what is that to the people?

Anſw. Not a little, becauſe they bear an equal part with the prieſt in many places, and have their cues and verſes as well as he.

Remonſt. The ears and hearts of our people look for a ſettled liturgy.

Anſw. You deceive yourſelf in their ears, and hearts, they look for no ſuch matter.

Remonſt. The like anſwer ſerves for homilies, ſurely they were enjoined to all, &c.

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Anſw.

Anſw. Let it ſerve for them that will be ignorant, we know that Hayward their own creature writes, that for defect of preachers, homilies were appointed to be read in churches, while Edward VI reigned.

Remonſt. Away then with the book, whilſt it may be ſupplied with a more profitable nonſenſe.

Anſw. Away with it rather, becauſe it will be hardly ſupplied with a more unprofitable nonſenſe, than is in ſome paſſages of it to be ſeen.

SECT. III.

Remonſt. Thus their cavils concerning liturgy are vaniſhed.

Anſw. You wanted but hey paſs, to have made your tranſition like a myſtical man of Sturbridge. But for all your ſleight of hand, our juſt exceptions againſt liturgy are not vaniſhed, they ſtare you ſtill in the face.

Remonſt. Certainly had I done ſo, I had been no leſs worthy to be ſpitten upon for my ſaucy uncharitableneſs, than they are now for their uncharitable falſehood.

Anſw. We ſee you are in choler, therefore till you cool awhile we turn us to the ingenuous reader. See how this Remonſtrant would inveſt himſelf conditionally with all the rheum of the town, that he might have ſufficient to beſpaul his brethren. They are accuſed by him of uncharitable falſehood, whereas their only crime hath been, that they have too credulouſly thought him, if not an overlogical, yet a well-meaning man; but now we find him either groſsly deficient in his principles of logic, or elſe purpoſely bent to delude the parliament with equivocal ſophiſtry, ſcattering among his periods ambiguous words, whoſe interpretation he will afterwards diſpenſe according to his pleaſure, laying before us univerſal propoſitions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation; for ſay, Remonſtrant,

Remonſt. Epiſcopal government is cried down abroad by either weak or factious perſons.

Anſw. Chooſe you whether you will have this propoſition proved to you to be ridiculous or ſophiſtical; for one of the two it muſt be. Step again to biſhop Downam your patron, and let him gently catechiſe you in the grounds of logic; he will ſhow you that this axiom,

" epiſcopal

"epiſcopal government is cried down abroad by either weak or factious perſons," is as much as to ſay, they that cry down epiſcopacy abroad, are either weak or factious perſons. He will tell you, that this axiom contains a diſtribution, and that all ſuch axioms are general; and laſtly, that the diſtribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious. If therefore diſtributing by the adjuncts of faction and weakneſs, the perſons that decry epiſcopacy, and you made your diſtribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable court, to whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honeſty, and ſuffer in your want of art, you cannot condemn them of uncharitable falſehood, that attributed to you more ſkill than you had, thinking you had been able to have made a diſtribution, as it ought to be, general and full; and ſo any man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word (abroad) and ſo take again either your manifeſt leaſing, or manifeſt ignorance.

Remonſt. Now come theſe brotherly ſlanderers.

Anſw. Go on, diſſembling Joab, as ſtill your uſe is, call brother and ſmite; call brother and ſmite, till it be ſaid of you, as the like was of Herod, a man had better be your hog than your brother.

Remonſt. Which never came within the verge of my thoughts.

Anſw. Take a metaphor or two more as good, the precinct, or the dioceſe of your thoughts.

Remonſt. Brethren, if you have any remainders of modeſty or truth, cry God mercy.

Anſw. Remonſtrant, if you have no groundwork of logic, or plaindealing in you, learn both as faſt as you can.

Remonſt. Of the ſame ſtrain is their witty deſcant of my confoundedneſs.

Anſw. Speak no more of it, it was a fatal word that God put into your mouth when you began to ſpeak for epiſcopacy, as boding confuſion to it.

Remonſt. I am ſtill, and ſhall ever be thus ſelf-confounded, as confidently to ſay, that he is no peaceable, and

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and right-affected ſon of the church of England, that doth not wiſh well to liturgy and epiſcopacy.

Anſw. If this be not that ſaucy uncharitableneſs, with which, in the foregoing page, you voluntarily inveſted yourſelf, with thought to have ſhifted it off, let the parliament judge, who now themſelves are deliberating whether liturgy and epiſcopacy be to be well wiſhed to, or no.

Remonſt. This they ſay they cannot but rank amongſt my notorious—ſpeak out, maſters; I would not have that word ſtick in your teeth, or in your throat.

Anſw. Take your ſpectacles, ſir, it ſticks in the paper, and was a pectoral roule we prepared for you to ſwallow down to your heart.

Remonſt. Wanton wits muſt have leave to play with their own ſtern.

Anſw. A meditation of yours doubtleſs obſerved at Lambeth from one of the archiepiſcopal kittens.

Remonſt. As for that form of epiſcopal government, ſurely could thoſe look with my eyes, they would ſee cauſe to be aſhamed of this their injurious miſconceit.

Anſw. We muſt call the barber for this wiſe ſentence; one Mr. Ley the other day wrote a treatiſe of the ſabbath, and in his preface puts the wiſdom of Balaam's aſs upon one of our biſhops, bold man for his labour; but we ſhall have more reſpect to our Remonſtrant, and liken him to the aſs's maſter, though the ſtory ſay he was not ſo quick-ſighted as his beaſt. Is not this Balaam the ſon of Beor, the man whoſe eyes are open, that ſaid to the parliament, Surely, could thoſe look with my eyes? Boaſt not of your eyes, it is feared you have Balaam's diſeaſe, a pearl in your eye, Mammon's preſtriction.

Remonſt. Alas, we could tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Brazil, New England, Virginia, and a thouſand others, that never had any biſhops to this day.

Anſw. O do not foil your cauſe thus, and trouble Ortelius; we can help you, and tell you where they have been ever ſince Conſtantine's time at leaſt, in a place called Mundus alter & idem, in the ſpacious and rich countries of Crapulia, Pamphagonia, Yuronia, and in the dukedom of Orgilia, and Variana, and their metropolis

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of Ucalegonium. It was an overſight that none of your prime antiquaries could think of theſe venerable monuments to deduce epiſcopacy by; knowing that Mercurius Britannicus had them forthcoming.

SECT. IV.

Remonſt. Hitherto they have flouriſhed, now I hope they will ſtrike.

Anſw. His former tranſition was in the fair about the jugglers, now he is at the pageants among the whifflers.

Remonſt. As if arguments were almanacks.

Anſw. You will find ſome ſuch as will prognoſticate your date, and tell you that, after your long ſummer ſolſtice, the Equator calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient and equal houſe of Libra.

Remonſt. Truly, brethren, you have not well taken the height of the pole.

Anſw. No marvel, there be many more that do not take well the height of your pole; but will take better the declination of your altitude.

Remonſt. He that ſaid I am the way, ſaid that the old way was the good way.

Anſw. He bids aſk of the old paths, or for the old ways, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old ways are not good, but that the good way is to be ſearched with diligence among the old ways, which is a thing that we do in the oldeſt records we have, the goſpel. And if others may chance to ſpend more time with you in canvaſſing later antiquity, I ſuppoſe it is not for that they ground themſelves thereon; but that they endeavour by ſhowing the corruptions, incertainties, and diſagreements of thoſe volumes, and the eaſineſs of erring, or overſlipping in ſuch a boundleſs and vaſt ſearch, if they may not convince thoſe that are ſo ſtrongly perſuaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous minds from an overawful eſteem of thoſe more ancient than truſty fathers, whom cuſtom and fond opinion, weak principles, and the neglect of ſounder and ſuperiour knowledge hath exalted ſo high as to have gained them a blind reverence; whoſe books in bigneſs and number ſo endleſs and im-



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meaſurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine or human wiſdom, did ever mean ſhould be a rule or reliance to us in the deciſion of any weighty and poſitive doctrine: for certainly every rule and inſtrument of neceſſary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be ſo in proportion, as may be wielded and managed by the life of man, without penning him up from the duties of human ſociety; and ſuch a rule and inſtrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But he that ſhall bind himſelf to make antiquity his rule, if he read but part, beſides the difficulty of choice, his rule is deficient, and utterly unſatisfying; for there may be other writers of another mind, which he hath not ſeen; and if he undertake all, the length of man's life cannot extend to give him a full and requiſite knowledge of what was done in antiquity. Why do we therefore ſtand worſhipping and admiring this unactive and lifeleſs Coloſſus, that, like a carved giant terribly menacing to children and weaklings, lifts up his club, but ſtrikes not, and is ſubject to the muting of every ſparrow? If you let him reſt upon his baſis, he may perhaps delight the eyes of ſome with his huge and mountainous bulk, and the quaint workmanſhip of his maſſy limbs; but if ye go about to take him in pieces, ye mar him; and if you think, like pigmies, to turn and wind him whole as he is, beſides your vain toil and ſweat, he may chance to fall upon your own heads. Go, therefore, and uſe all your art, apply your ſledges, your levers, and your iron crows, to heave and hale your mighty Polypheme of antiquity to the deluſion of novices and unexperienced chriſtians. We ſhall adhere cloſe to the ſcriptures of God, which he hath left us as the juſt and adequate meaſure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent ſtudy, memory, and uſe of every faithful man, whoſe every part conſenting, and making up the harmonious ſymmetry of complete inſtruction, is able to ſet out to us a perfect man of God, or biſhop thoroughly furniſhed to all the good works of his charge: and with this weapon, without ſtepping a foot further, we ſhall not doubt to batter and throw down your Nebuchadnezzar's image, and crumble it like the chaff of the ſummer threſhing-floors,

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floors, as well the gold of thoſe apoſtolic ſucceſſors that you boaſt of, as your Conſtantinian ſilver, together with the iron, the braſs, and the clay of thoſe muddy and ſtrawy ages that follow.

Remonſt. Let the boldeſt forehead of them all deny that epiſcopacy hath continued thus long in our iſland, or that any till this age contradicted it.

Anſw. That bold forehead you have cleanly put upon yourſelf, it is you who deny that any till this age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do ſo much: you have rowed yourſelf fairly between the Scylla and Charybdis, either of impudence or nonſenſe, and now betake you to whether you pleaſe.

Remonſt. As for that ſupply of acceſſory ſtrength, which I not beg.

Anſw. Your whole remonſtrance does nothing elſe but beg it, and your fellow-prelates do as good as whine to the parliament for their fleſhpots of Egypt, making ſad orations at the funeral of your dear prelacy, like that doughty centurion Afranius in Lucian; who, to imitate the noble Pericles in his epitaphian ſpeech, ſtepping up after the battle to bewail the ſlain Severianus, falls into a pitiful condolement, to think of thoſe coſtly ſuppers and drinking banquets, which he muſt now taſte of no more; and by then he had done, lacked but little to lament the dear-loved memory and calamitous loſs of his capon and white broth.

Remonſt. But raiſe and evince from the light of nature, and the rules of juſt policy, for the continuance of thoſe things which long uſe and many laws have firmly eſtabliſhed as neceſſary and beneficial.

Anſw. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better guide than nature. Look upon the mean condition of Chriſt and his apoſtles, without that acceſſory ſtrength you take ſuch pains to raiſe from the light of nature and policy: take divine counſel, "Labour not for the things that periſh:" you would be the ſalt of the earth; if that ſavour be not found in you, do not think much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot. Hark, how St. Paul, writing to Timothy, informs a true biſhop; "Biſhops (ſaith he) muſt not be greedy of



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filthy lucre; and having food and raiment, let us be therewith content: but they (ſaith he, meaning, more eſpecially in that place, biſhops) that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men in deſtruction and perdition: for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while ſome coveted after, they have erred from the faith." How can we therefore expect ſound doctrine, and the ſolution of this our controverſy from any covetous and honour-hunting biſhop, that ſhall plead ſo ſtiffly for theſe things, while St. Paul thus exhorts every biſhop; "But thou, O man of God, flee theſe things!" As for the juſt policy, that long uſe and cuſtom, and thoſe many laws which you ſay have conferred theſe benefits upon you; it hath been nothing elſe but the ſuperſtitious devotion of princes and great men that knew no better, or the baſe importunity of begging friars, haunting and haraſſing the deathbeds of men departing this life, in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building of churches, cloiſters, and convents. The moſt of your vaunted poſſeſſions, and thoſe proud endowments that ye as ſinfully waſte, what are they but the black revenues of purgatory, the price of abuſed and murdered ſouls, the damned ſimony of Trentals, and indulgences to mortal ſin? How can ye chooſe but inherit the curſe that goes along with ſuch a patrimony? Alas! if there be any releaſement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the ſouls of our miſguided anceſtors; could we imagine there might be any recovery to ſome degree of eaſe left for as many of them as are loſt, there cannot be a better way than to take the miſbeſtowed wealth which they were cheated of, from theſe our prelates, who are the true ſucceſſors of thoſe that popped them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their final undoing: and to beſtow their beneficent gifts upon places and means of chriſtian education, and the faithful labourers in God's harveſt, that may inceſſantly warn the poſterity of Dives, leſt they come where their miſerable forefather was ſent by the cozenage and miſleading of avaricious and worldly prelates.

Remonſt.

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Remonſt. It will ſtand long enough againſt the battery of their paper-pellets.

Anſw. That muſt be tried without a ſquare cap in the council; and if pellets will not do, your own canons ſhall be turned againſt you.

Remonſt. They cannot name any man in this nation, that ever contradicted epiſcopacy, till this preſent age.

Anſw. What an overworn and bedriden argument is this? the laſt refuge ever of old falſehood, and therefore a good ſign, I truſt, that your caſtle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of judaiſm and idolatry againſt Chriſt and his apoſtles, of papacy againſt reformation; and perhaps to the frailty of fleſh and blood in a man deſtitute of better enlightening may for ſome while be pardonable: for what has fleſhly apprehenſion other to ſubſiſt by than ſucceſſion, cuſtom, and viſibility; which only hold, if in his weakneſs and blindneſs he be loth to loſe, who can blame? But in a proteſtant nation, that ſhould have thrown off theſe tattered rudiments long ago, after the many ſtrivings of God's ſpirit, and our fourſcore years vexation of him in this our wilderneſs ſince reformation began, to urge theſe rotten principles, and twit us with the preſent age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifeſtly come down among us, to do ſome remarkable good to our church or ſtate; is, as if a man ſhould tax the renovating and reingendering ſpirit of God with innovation, and that new creature for an upſtart novelty; yea, the new Jeruſalem, which, without your admired link of ſucceſſion, deſcends from Heaven, could not eſcape ſome ſuch like cenſure. If you require a further anſwer, it will not miſbecome a chriſtian to be either more magnanimous or more devout than Scipio was; who, inſtead of other anſwer to the frivolous accuſations of Petilius the tribune, "This day, Romans, (ſaith he) I fought with Hannibal proſperouſly; let us all go and thank the gods, that gave us ſo great a victory:" in like manner will we now ſay, not caring otherwiſe to anſwer this unproteſtantlike objection; In this age, Britons, God hath reformed his church after many hundred years of popiſh corruption; in this age, he hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of prelates and papal diſ-

 cipline;

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cipline; in this age he hath renewed our proteſtation againſt all thoſe yet remaining dregs of ſuperſtition. Let us all go, every true proteſted Briton, throughout the three kingdoms, and render thanks to God the father of light, and fountain of heavenly grace, and to his ſon Chriſt our Lord; leaving this Remonſtrant and his adherents to their own deſigns, and let us recount even here without delay, the patience and long-ſuffering that God hath uſed towards our blindneſs and hardneſs time after time. For he being equally near to his whole creation of mankind, and of free power to turn his beneficent and fatherly regard to what region or kingdom he pleaſes, hath yet ever had this iſland under the ſpecial indulgent eye of his providence; and pitying us the firſt of all other nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his church that lay wallowing in idolatrous pollutions, ſent firſt to us a healing meſſenger to touch ſoftly our ſores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knocked once and twice, and came again, opening our drowſy eyelids leiſurely by that glimmering light, which Wickliff and his followers diſperſed; and ſtill taking off by degrees the inveterate ſcales from our nigh periſhed ſight, purged alſo our deaf ears, and prepared them to attend his ſecond warning trumpet in our grandfires' days. How elſe could they have been able to have received the ſudden aſſault of his reforming ſpirit, warring againſt human principles, and carnal ſenſe, the pride of fleſh, that ſtill cried up antiquity, cuſtom, canons, councils and laws; and cried down the truth for novelty, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, and ſacrilege? whenas we that have lived ſo long in abundant light, beſides the ſunny reflection of all the neighbouring churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with thoſe old opinions, and ſo obſtructed and benummed with the ſame fleſhly reaſonings, which in our forefathers ſoon melted and gave way, againſt the morning beam of reformation. If God had left undone this whole work, ſo contrary to fleſh and blood, till theſe times; how ſhould we have yielded to his heavenly call, had we been taken, as they were, in the ſtarkneſs of our ignorance; that yet, after all theſe ſpiritual preparatives and purgations,

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purgations, have our earthly apprehenſions ſo clammed and furred with the old leaven? O if we freeze at noon after their early thaw, let us fear leſt the ſun for ever hide himſelf, and turn his orient ſteps from our ingrateful horizon, juſtly condemned to be eternally benighted. Which dreadful judgment, O thou the ever-begotten Light and perfect image of the Father! intercede, may never come upon us, as we truſt thou haſt; for thou haſt opened our difficult and ſad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppreſſions: thou haſt done juſtice upon thoſe that tyrannized over us, while ſome men wavered and admired a vain ſhadow of wiſdom in a tongue nothing ſlow to utter guile, though thou haſt taught us to admire only that which is good, and to count that only praiſe-worthy, which is grounded upon thy divine precepts. Thou haſt diſcovered the plots, and fruſtrated the hopes, of all the wicked in the land, and put to ſhame the perſecutors of thy church: thou haſt made our falſe prophets to be found a lie in the ſight of all the people, and chaſed them with ſudden confuſion and amazement before the redoubled brightneſs of thy deſcending cloud, that now covers thy tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walk through the midſt of thy ſanctuary, amidſt thoſe golden candleſticks, which have long ſuffered a dimneſs amongſt us through the violence of thoſe that had ſeized them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold than of their ſtarry light; teaching the doctrine of Balaam, to caſt a ſtumbling block before thy ſervants, commanding them to eat things ſacrificed to idols, and forcing them to fornication? Come, therefore, O thou that haſt the ſeven ſtars in thy right hand, appoint thy choſen prieſts according to their orders and courſes of old, to miniſter before thee, and duly to preſs and pour out the conſecrated oil into thy holy and everburning lamps. Thou haſt ſent out the ſpirit of prayer upon thy ſervants over all the land to this effect, and ſtirred up their vows as the ſound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can ſay, that now certainly thou haſt viſited this land, and haſt not forgotten the utmoſt corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou waſt gone up from us



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to the fartheſt end of the heavens, and hadſt left to do marvellouſly among the ſons of theſe laſt ages. O perfect and accompliſh thy glorious acts! for men may leave their works unfiniſhed, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection: ſhouldſt thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to deſtroy us in this wilderneſs, though we deſerve; yet thy great name would ſuffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy ſervants. When thou haſt ſettled peace in the church, and righteous judgment in the kingdom, then ſhall all thy ſaints addreſs their voices of joy and triumph to thee, ſtanding on the ſhore of that red ſea into which our enemies had almoſt driven us. And he that now for haſte ſnatches up a plain ungarniſhed preſent as a thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferred in regard of thy ſo many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp, and ſing thee an elaborate ſong to generations. In that day it ſhall no more be ſaid as in ſcorn, this or that was never held ſo till this preſent age, when men have better learnt that the times and ſeaſons paſs along under thy feet to go and come at thy bidding: and as thou didſt dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, ſince thou tookeſt the fleſh; ſo thou canſt vouchſafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy ſpirit as thou pleaſeſt: for who ſhall prejudice thy all-governing will? ſeeing the power of thy grace is not paſſed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithleſs men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou ſtanding at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth! put on the viſible robes of thy imperial majeſty, take up that unlimited ſceptre which thy almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures ſigh to be renewed.

## SECT. V.

Remonſt. Neglect not the gift which was given thee by prophecy, and by laying on the hands of preſbytery.

Anſw. The Engliſh tranſlation expreſſes the article (the),

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(the), and renders it the preſbytery, which you do injury to omit.

Remonſt. Which I wonder ye can ſo preſs, when Calvin himſelf takes it of the office, and not of the men.

Anſw. You think then you are fairly quit of this proof, becauſe Calvin interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with Calvin's name, unleſs we be convinced with Calvin's reaſon; the word πρεσβυτέριον is a collective noun, ſignifying a certain number of men in one order, as the word privy-council with us; and ſo Beza interprets, that knew Calvin's mind doubtleſs, with whom he lived. If any amongſt us ſhould ſay the privy-council ordained it, and thereby conſtrain us to underſtand one man's authority, ſhould we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have uſed all your cramping irons to the text, and done your utmoſt to cram a preſbytery into the ſkin of one perſon, it will be but a piece of frugal nonſenſe. But if your meaning be with a violent hyperbaton to tranſpoſe the text, as if the words lay thus in order, "neglect not the gift of preſbytery:" this were a conſtruction like a harquebuſs ſhot over a file of words twelve deep, without authority to bid them ſtoop; or to make the word gift, like the river Mole in Surry, to run under the bottom of a long line, and ſo ſtart up to govern the word preſbytery, as in immediate ſyntaxis; a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wife's tale of a certain queen of England that ſunk at Charing croſs, and roſe up at Queenhithe. No marvel though the prelates be a troubleſome generation, and, which way ſoever they turn them, put all things into a foul diſcompoſure, when to maintain their domineering they ſeek thus to rout and diſarray the wiſe and wellcouched order of Saint Paul's own words, uſing either a certain textual riot to chop off the hands of the word preſbytery, or elſe a like kind of ſimony to clap the word gift between them. Beſides, if the verſe muſt be read according to this tranſpoſition, μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, it would be improper to call ordination χάρισμα, whenas it is rather only χείρισμα, an outward teſtimony of approbation; unleſs they will make it a ſacrament, as the papiſts do: but ſurely the prelates would have Saint Paul's words ramp one over another,

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another, as they uſe to climb into their livings and biſhoprics.

Remonſt. Neither need we give any other ſatisfaction to the point, than from Saint Paul himſelf, 2 Timothy i, 6. "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the impoſition of my hands;" mine, and not others.

Anſw. Ye are too quick; this laſt place is to be underſtood by the former; as the law of method, which bears chief ſway in the art of teaching, requires, that cleareſt and plaineſt expreſſions be ſet foremoſt, to the end they may enlighten any following obſcurity; and wherefore we ſhould not attribute a right method to the teachableneſs of ſcripture, there can be no reaſon given: to which method, if we ſhall now go contrary, beſides the breaking of a logical rule, which the Remonſtrant hitherto we ſee hath made little account of, we ſhall alſo put a manifeſt violence and impropriety upon a known word againſt his common ſignification, in binding a collective to a ſingular perſon. But if we ſhall, as logic (or indeed reaſon) inſtructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and underſtand "by the impoſition of my hands," that is, of mine chiefly as an apoſtle, with the ioint authority and aſſiſtance of the preſbytery, there is nothing more ordinary or kindly in ſpeech, than ſuch a phraſe as expreſſes only the chief in any action, and underſtands the reſt. So that the impoſition of Saint Paul's hands, without more expreſſion in this place, cannot exclude the joint act of the preſbytery affirmed by the former text.

Remonſt. In the mean while ſee, brethren, how you have with Simon fiſhed all night, and caught nothing.

Anſw. If we fiſhing with Simon the apoſtle can catch nothing, ſee what you can catch with Simon Magus; for all his hooks and fiſhing implements he bequeathed among you.

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SECT. XIII.

Remonſt. We do again profeſs, that if our biſhops challenge any other power than was delegated to, and required of Timothy and Titus, we ſhall yield them uſurpers.

Anſw. Ye cannot compare an ordinary biſhop with Timothy, who was an extraordinary man, foretold and promiſed to the church by many prophecies, and his name joined as collateral with St. Paul, in moſt of his apoſtolic epiſtles, even where he writes to the biſhops of other churches, as thoſe in Philippi. Nor can you prove out of the ſcripture that Timothy was biſhop of any particular place; for that wherein it is ſaid in the third verſe of the firſt epiſtle, "As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at Epheſus," will be ſuch a gloſs to prove the conſtitution of a biſhop by, as would not only be not ſo good as a Bourdeaux gloſs, but ſcarce be received to varniſh a vizard of Modona. All that can be gathered out of holy writ concerning Timothy is, that he was either an apoſtle, or an apoſtle's extraordinary vicegerent, not confined to the charge of any place. The like may be ſaid of Titus, (as thoſe words import in the 5th verſe) that he was for that cauſe left in Crete, that he might ſupply or proceed to ſet in order that which St. Paul in apoſtolic manner had begun, for which he had his particular commiſſion, as thoſe words found "as I had appointed thee." So that what he did in Crete, cannot ſo much be thought the exerciſe of an ordinary function, as the direction of an inſpired mouth. No leſs may be gathered from the 2 Cor. viii, 23.

Remonſt. You deſcend to the angels of the ſeven Aſian churches; your ſhift is, that the word angel is here taken collectively, not individually.

Anſw. That the word is collective, appears plainly, Revel. ii.

Firſt, Becauſe the text itſelf expounds it ſo; for having ſpoken all the while as to the angel, the ſeventh verſe concludes, that this was ſpoken to the churches. Now if the ſpirit conclude collectively, and kept the

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ſame tenor all the way, for we ſee not where he particularizes; then certainly he muſt begin collectively, elſe the conſtruction can be neither grammatical nor logical.

Secondly, If the word angel be individual, then are the faults attributed to him individual: but they are ſuch as for which God threatens to remove the candleſtick out of its place, which is as much as to take away from that church the light of his truth; and we cannot think he will do ſo for one biſhop's fault. Therefore thoſe faults muſt be underſtood collective, and by conſequence the ſubject of them collective.

Thirdly, An individual cannot branch itſelf into ſubindividuals; but this word angel doth in the tenth verſe. "Fear none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer; behold the devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon." And the like from other places of this and the following chapter may be obſerved. Therefore it is no individual word, but a collective.

Fourthly, In the 24th verſe this word Angel is made capable of a pronoun plural, which could not be, unleſs it were a collective. As for the ſuppoſed manuſcript of Tecla, and two or three other copies that have expunged the copulative, we cannot prefer them before the more received reading, and we hope you will not, againſt the tranſlation of your mother the church of England, that paſſed the reviſe of your chiefeſt prelates: beſides this, you will lay an unjuſt cenſure upon the much-praiſed biſhop of Thyatira, and reckon him among thoſe that had the doctrine of Jezebel, when the text ſays, he only ſuffered her. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as we know your ſo much called for charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the biſhop, if you comprehend him in the name of angel, otherwiſe you leave his caſe very doubtful.

Remonſt. "Thou ſuffereſt thy wife Jezebel:" was ſhe wife to the whole company, or to one biſhop alone?

Anſw. Not to the whole company doubtleſs, for that had been worſe than to have been the Levite's wife in Gibeah: but here among all thoſe that conſtantly read it otherwiſe, whom you trample upon, your good mother

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of England is down again in the throng, who with the reſt reads it, 'that woman Jezebel:' but ſuppoſe it were wife, a man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name Jezebel no man doubts to be a borrowed name.

Remonſt. Yet what makes this for a dioceſan biſhop? Much every way.

Anſw. No more than a ſpecial endorſement could make to puff up the foreman of a jury. If we deny you more precedence, than as the ſenior of any ſociety, or deny you this priority to be longer than annual; prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you think to do from the title of eminence, Angel: alas, your wings are too ſhort. It is not ordination nor juriſdiction that is angelical, but the heavenly meſſage of the goſpel, which is the office of all miniſters alike; in which ſenſe John the Baptiſt is called an Angel, which in Greek ſignifies a meſſenger, as oft as it is meant by a man, and might be ſo rendered here without treaſon to the hierarchy; but that the whole book ſoars to a prophetic pitch in types and allegories. Seeing then the reaſon of this borrowed name is merely to ſignify the preaching of the goſpel, and that this preaching equally appertains to the whole miniſtry; hence may be drawn a fifth argument, that if the reaſon of this borrowed name Angel be equally collective and communicative to the whole preaching miniſtry of the place, then muſt the name be collectively and communicatively taken; but the reaſon, that is to ſay, the office, of preaching and watching over the flock, is equally collective and communicative: therefore the borrowed name itſelf is to be underſtood as equally collective and communicative to the whole preaching miniſtry of the place. And if you will contend ſtill for a ſuperiority in one perſon, you muſt ground it better than from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the axehead that fell into the water, and ſay, "Alas, maſter, for it was borrowed;" unleſs you have as good a faculty to make iron ſwim, as you had to make light froth ſink.

Remonſt. What is, if this be not ordination and juriſdiction?

Anſw. Indeed in the conſtitution and founding of a church, that ſome men inſpired from God ſhould have

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an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and diſpoſe, muſt needs be. So Moſes, though himſelf no prieſt, ſanctified and ordained Aaron and his ſons; but when all needful things be ſet, and regulated by the writings of the apoſtles, whether it be not a mere folly to keep up a ſuperior degree in the church only for ordination and juriſdiction, it will be no hurt to debate awhile. The apoſtles were the builders, and, as it were, the architects of the chriſtian church; wherein conſiſted their excellence above ordinary miniſters? A prelate would ſay in commanding, in controlling, in appointing, in calling to them, and ſending from about them to all countries, their biſhops and archbiſhops as their deputies, with a kind of legantine power. No, no, vain prelates, this was but as the ſcaffolding of a new edifice, which for the time muſt board and overlook the higheſt battlements; but if the ſtructure once finiſhed, any paſſenger ſhould fall in love with them, and pray that they might ſtill ſtand, as being a ſingular grace and ſtrengthening to the houſe, who would otherwiſe think, but that the man was preſently to be laid hold on, and ſent to his friends and kindred? The eminence of the apoſtles conſiſted in their powerful preaching, their unwearied labouring in the word, their unquenchable charity, which, above all earthly reſpects, like a working flame, had ſpun up to ſuch a height of pure deſire, as might be thought next to that love which dwells in God to ſave ſouls; which, while they did, they were contented to be the offſcouring of the world, and to expoſe themſelves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unſpeakable. As for ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward ſign or ſymbol of admiſſion? It creates nothing, it confers nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a miniſter, and his own painful ſtudy and diligence that manures and improves his miniſterial gifts. In the primitive times, many, before ever they had received ordination from the apoſtles, had done the church noble ſervice, as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge; the employment of preaching is as holy, and far

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more excellent; the care alſo and judgment to be uſed in the winning of ſouls, which is thought to be ſufficient in every worthy miniſter, is an ability above that which is required in ordination: for many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a miniſter, that would not be found fit to be made miniſters themſelves; as it will not be denied that he may be the competent judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limn the like. Why therefore we ſhould conſtitute a ſuperior order in the church to perform an office which is not only every miniſter's function, but inferior alſo to that which he has a confeſſed right to; and why this ſuperiority ſhould remain thus uſurped, ſome wiſe Epimenides tell us. Now for juriſdiction, this dear ſaint of the prelates, it will be beſt to conſider, firſt, what it is: that ſovereign Lord, who in the diſcharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him ſupreme biſhop of our ſouls, was ſo humble as to ſay, "Who made me a judge, or a divider over ye?" hath taught us that a churchman's juriſdiction is no more but to watch over his flock in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to deal by ſweet and efficacious inſtructions, gentle admonitions, and ſometimes rounder reproofs: againſt negligence or obſtinacy, will be required a rouſing volley of paſtorly threatenings; againſt a perſiſting ſtubbornneſs, or the fear of a reprobate ſenſe, a timely ſeparation from the flock by that interdictive ſentence, leſt his converſation unprohibited, or unbranded, might breathe a peſtilential murrain into the other ſheep. In ſum, his juriſdiction is to ſee the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted: what other work the prelates have found for chancellors and ſuffragans, delegates and officials, with all the Hell-peſtering rabble of ſumners and apparitors, is but an invaſion upon the temporal magiſtrate, and affected by them as men that are not aſhamed of the enſign and banner of antichriſt. But true evangelical juriſdiction or diſcipline is no more, as was ſaid, than for a miniſter to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthieſt work of theſe two, to plant as every miniſter's office is equally with the biſhops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiſcerning prelates

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prelates call juriſdiction, and would appropriate to themſelves as a buſineſs of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and hear a law caſe. A certain man of large poſſeſſions had a fair garden, and kept therein an honeſt and laborious ſervant, whoſe ſkill and profeſſion was to ſet or ſow all wholeſome herbs, and delightful flowers, according to every ſeaſon, and whatever elſe was to be done in a well-huſbanded nurſery of plants and fruits. Now, when the time was come that he ſhould cut his hedges, prune his trees, look to his tender ſlips, and pluck up the weeds that hindered their growth, he gets him up by break of day, and makes account to do what was needful in his garden; and who would think that any other ſhould know better than he how the day's work was to be ſpent? Yet for all this there comes another ſtrange gardener that never knew the ſoil, never handled a dibble or ſpade to ſet the leaſt potherb that grew there, much leſs had endured an hour's ſweat or chilneſs, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every buſh, the weeding and worming of every bed, both in that and all other gardens thereabout. The honeſt gardener, that ever ſince the daypeep, till now the ſun was grown ſomewhat rank, had wrought painfully about his banks and ſeedplots, at his commanding voice turns ſuddenly about with ſome wonder; and although he could have well beteemed to have thanked him of the eaſe he profferred, yet loving his own handywork, modeſtly refuſed him, telling him withal, that, for his part, if he had thought much of his own pains, he could for once have committed the work to one of his fellow labourers, for as much as it is well known to be a matter of leſs ſkill and leſs labour to keep a garden handſome, than it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already performed himſelf. No, ſaid the ſtranger, this is neither for you nor your fellows to meddle with, but for me only that am for this purpoſe in dignity far above you; and the proviſion which the Lord of the ſoil allows me in this office is, and that with good reaſon, tenfold your wages. The gardener ſmiled and ſhook his head; but what was determined

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determined, I cannot tell you till the end of this parliament.

Remonſt. If in time you ſhall ſee wooden chalices, and wooden prieſts, thank yourſelves.

Anſw. It had been happy for this land, if your prieſts had been but only wooden; all England knows they have been to this iſland not wood, but wormwood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that apoſtate ſtar in the Revelation, that many ſouls have died of their bitterneſs; and if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that ſort among you; and their number increaſing daily, as their lazineſs, their tavern hunting, their neglect of all ſound literature, and their liking of doltiſh and monaſtical ſchoolmen daily increaſed. What, ſhould I tell you how the univerſities, that men look ſhould be fountains of learning and knowledge, have been poiſoned and choaked under your governance? And if to be wooden, be to be baſe, where could there be found among all the reformed churches, nay in the church of Rome itſelf, a baſer brood of flattering and time-ſerving prieſts? according as God pronounces by Iſaiah, the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail. As for your young ſcholars, that petition for biſhoprics and deaneries to encourage them in their ſtudies, and that many gentlemen elſe will not put their ſons to learning; away with ſuch young mercenary ſtriplings, and their ſimoniacal fathers; God has no need of ſuch, they have no part or lot in his vineyard: they may as well ſue for nunneries, that they may have ſome convenient ſtowage for their withered daughters, becauſe they cannot give them portions anſwerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in. This is the root of all our miſchief, that which they allege for the encouragement of their ſtudies ſhould be cut away forewith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that draws together all the fowls of prey and ravin in the land to come and gorge upon the church. How can it be but ever unhappy to the church of England, while ſhe ſhall think to entice men to the pure ſervice of God by the ſame means that were uſed to tempt our Saviour to the ſervice of the devil, by laying before him



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honour and preferment? Fit profeſſors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that godlineſs with content is great gain, whenas their godlineſs of teaching had not been but for worldly gain. The heathen philoſophers thought that virtue was for its own ſake ineſtimable, and the greateſt gain of a teacher to make a ſoul virtuous; ſo Xenophon writes of Socrates, who never bargained with any for teaching them; he feared not leſt thoſe who had received ſo high a benefit from him, would not of their own free will return him all poſſible thanks. Was moral virtue ſo lovely, and ſo alluring, and heathen men ſo enamoured of her, as to teach and ſtudy her with greateſt neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement? And is chriſtian piety ſo homely and ſo unpleaſant, and chriſtian men ſo cloyed with her, as that none will ſtudy and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O ſtalegrown piety! O goſpel rated as cheap as thy maſter, at thirty pence, and not worth the ſtudy, unleſs thou canſt buy thoſe that will ſell thee! O race of Capernaïtans, ſenſeleſs of divine doctrine, and capable only of loaves and bellycheer! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would fain aſk theſe men at whoſe hands they ſeek inferiour things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houſes? No doubt but they will ſoon anſwer, that all theſe things they ſeek at God's hands. Do they think then that all theſe meaner and ſuperfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon? Certainly never any clear ſpirit nurſed up from brighter influences, with a ſoul enlarged to the dimenſions of ſpacious art and high knowledge, ever entered there but with ſcorn, and thought it ever foul diſdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his ſtudies; it being the greateſt honour, the greateſt fruit and proficiency of learned ſtudies to deſpiſe theſe things. Not liberal ſcience, but illiberal muſt that needs be, that mounts in contemplation merely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling clergy, though never ſo learned? For ſuch can have neither true wiſdom nor grace; and then in vain do men truſt in learning, where theſe be wanting. If in

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leſs noble and almoſt mechanic arts, according to the definitions of thoſe authors, he is not eſteemed to deſerve the name of a complete architect, an excellent painter, or the like, that bears not a generous mind above the peaſantly regard of wages and hire; much more muſt we think him a moſt imperfect, and incomplete divine, who is ſo far from being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly and brutiſh hopes of a fat prebendary, deanery, or biſhopric; which poor and lowpitched deſires, if they do but mix with thoſe other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this ſtudy, it is juſtly expected that they ſhould bring forth a baſeborn iſſue of divinity, like that of thoſe imperfect and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two moſt unlike procreants, the ſun and mud. And in matters of religion, there is not any thing more intolerable than a learned fool, or a learned hypocrite; the one is ever cooped up at his empty ſpeculations, a ſot, an ideot for any uſe that mankind can make of him, or elſe ſowing the world with nice and idle queſtions, and with much toil and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep ſhallows that wet not the inſtep: a plain unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better and wiſer, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life than he. The other is ſtill uſing his ſophiſticated arts, and bending all his ſtudies how to make his inſatiate avarice and ambition ſeem pious and orthodoxal, by painting his lewd and deceitful principles with a ſmooth and gloſſy varniſh in a doctrinal way, to bring about his wickedeſt purpoſes. Inſtead of the great harm therefore that theſe men fear upon the diſſolving of prelates, what an eaſe and happineſs will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningeſt and moſt dangerous mercenaries will ceaſe of themſelves to frequent the fold, whom otherwiſe ſcarce all the prayers of the faithful could have kept back from devouring the flock! But a true paſtor of Chriſt's ſending hath this eſpecial mark, that for greateſt labours and greateſt merits in the church, he requires either nothing, if he could ſo ſubſiſt, or a very common and reaſonable ſupply of human neceſſaries:



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we cannot therefore do better than to leave this care of ours to God, he can eaſily ſend labourers into his harveſt, that ſhall not cry Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beſeeming allowance; nor will he ſuffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practiſe this our knowledge in right eſtabliſhed diſcipline, how much more will he repleniſh us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory and our good! He can ſtir up rich fathers to beſtow exquiſite education upon their children, and ſo dedicate them to the ſervice of the goſpel; he can make the ſons of nobles his miniſters, and princes to be his Nazarites; for certainly there is no employment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great ſpirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, than to be the meſſenger and herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and, by the faithful work of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithful men, making a kind of creation like to God's, by infuſing his ſpirit and likeneſs into them, to their ſalvation, as God did into him; ariſing to what climate ſoever he turn him, like that Sun of righteouſneſs that ſent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raiſing out of darkſome barrenneſs a delicious and fragrant ſpring of ſaving knowledge, and good works. Can a man, thus employed, find himſelf diſcontented, or diſhonoured for want of admittance to have a pragmatical voice at ſeſſions and jail deliveries? Or becauſe he may not as a judge ſit out the wrangling noiſe of litigious courts to ſhrive the purſes of unconfeſſing and unmortified ſinners, and not their ſouls, or be diſcouraged though men call him not lord, whenas the due performance of his office would gain him, even from lords and princes, the voluntary title of father? Would he tug for a barony to ſit and vote in parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wiſdom and ſound doctrine, which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher and perſuader of the parliament? And in all wiſe apprehenſions the perſuaſive power in man to win others to goodneſs by inſtruction is greater,

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and more divine, than the compulſive power to reſtrain men from being evil by terrour of the law; and therefore Chriſt left Moſes to be the lawgiver, but himſelf came down amongſt us to be a teacher, with which office his heavenly wiſdom was ſo well pleaſed, as that he was angry with thoſe that would have put a piece of temporal judicature into his hands, diſclaiming that he had any commiſſion from above for ſuch matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, ſends not for thoſe droſſy ſpirits that need the lure and whiſtle of earthly preferment, like thoſe animals that fetch and carry for a morſel; no. She can find ſuch as therefore ſtudy her precepts, becauſe ſhe teaches to deſpiſe preferment. And let not thoſe wretched fathers think they ſhall impoveriſh the church of willing and able ſupply, though they keep back their ſordid ſperm, begotten in the luſtineſs of their avarice, and turn them to their malting kilns; rather let them take heed what leſſons they inſtil into that lump of fleſh which they are the cauſe of; leſt, thinking to offer him as a preſent to God, they diſh him out for the devil. Let the novice learn firſt to renounce the world, and ſo give himſelf to God, and not therefore give himſelf to God, that he may cloſe the better with the world, like that falſe ſhepherd Palinode in the eclogue of May, under whom the poet lively perſonates our prelates, whoſe whole life is a recantation of their paſtoral vow, and whoſe profeſſion to forſake the world, as they uſe the matter, bogs them deeper into the world. Thoſe our admired Spenſer inveighs againſt, not without ſome preſage of theſe reforming times:

> The time was once and may again return,
> (For oft may happen that hath been beforn)
> When ſhepherds had none inheritance,
> Ne of land nor fee in ſufferance,
> But what might ariſe of the bare ſheep,
> (Were it more or leſs,) which they did keep.
> Well ywis was it with ſhepherds tho,
> Nought having, nought feared they to forego:
> For Pan himſelf was their inheritance,
> And little them ſerv'd for their maintenance:
> The ſhepherds God ſo well them guided,
> That of nought they were unprovided.



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Butter enough, honey, milk and whey,
And their flock fleeces them to array.
But tract of time, and long proſperity
(That nurſe of vice, this of inſolency)
Lull'd the ſhepherds in ſuch ſecurity,
That not content with loyal obeyſance,
Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
And match themſelves with mighty potentates,
Lovers of lordſhips, and troublers of ſtates.
Tho gan ſhepherds ſwains to looke aloft,
And leave to live hard, and learne to lig ſoft.
Tho under colour of ſhepherds ſome while
There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile,
That often devoured their own ſheep,
And often the ſhepherd that did them keep.
This was the firſt ſource of ſhepherds ſorrow,
That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this we may conjecture, how little we need fear that the ungilding of our prelates will prove the woodening of our prieſts. In the mean while let no man carry in his head either ſuch narrow or ſuch evil eyes, as not to look upon the churches of Belgia and Helvetia, and that envied city Geneva: where in the chriſtian world doth learning more flouriſh than in theſe places? Not among your beloved jeſuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the prelates into the number, and inſtance in what kind of learning you pleaſe. And how in England all noble ſciences attending upon the train of chriſtian doctrine may flouriſh more than ever; and how the able profeſſors of every art may with ample ſtipends be honeſtly provided; and finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the prelates; the courſes are ſo many and ſo eaſy, that I ſhall paſs them over.

Remonſt. It is God that makes the biſhop, the king that gives the biſhopric; what can you ſay to this?

Anſw. What you ſhall not long ſtay for: we ſay it is God that makes a biſhop, and the devil that makes him take a prelatical biſhopric; as for the king's gift, regal bounty may be excuſable in giving, where the biſhop's covetouſneſs is damnable in taking.

Remonſt. Many eminent divines of the churches abroad have earneſtly wiſhed themſelves in our condition.

Anſw.

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Anſw. I cannot blame them, they were not only eminent but ſupereminent divines, and for ſtomach much like to Pompey the great, that could endure no equal.

Remonſt. The Babylonian note ſounds well in your ears, "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground."

Anſw. You miſtake the matter, it was the Edomitiſh note; but change it, and if you be an angel, cry with the angel, "It is fallen, it is fallen."

Remonſt. But the God of Heaven will, we hope, vindicate his own ordinance ſo long perpetuated to his church.

Anſw. Go rather to your god of this world, and ſee if he can vindicate your lordſhips, your temporal and ſpiritual tyrannies, and all your pelf; for the God of Heaven is already come down to vindicate his ordinance from your ſo long perpetuated uſurpation.

Remonſt. If yet you can bluſh.

Anſw. This is a more Edomitiſh conceit than the former, and muſt be ſilenced with a counter quip of the ſame country. So often and ſo unfavourily has it been repeated, that the reader may well cry, Down with it, down with it, for ſhame. A man would think you had eaten overliberally of Eſau's red porridge, and from thence dream continually of bluſhing; or perhaps, to heighten your fancy in writing, are wont to ſit in your doctor's ſcarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red ſuffuſion, begets a continual thought of bluſhing: that you thus perſecute ingenuous men over all your book, with this one overtired rubrical conceit ſtill of bluſhing; but if you have no mercy upon them, yet ſpare yourſelf, leſt you bejade the good galloway, your own opiniatre wit, and make the very conceit itſelf bluſh with ſpurgalling.

Remonſt. The ſcandals of our inferiour miniſters I deſired to have had leſs public.

Anſw. And what your ſuperiour archbiſhop or biſhops? O forbid to have it told in Gath! ſay you. O dauber! and therefore remove not impieties from Iſrael. Conſtantine might have done more juſtly to have puniſhed thoſe clergical faults which he could not conceal, than to leave them unpuniſhed, that they might remain



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concealed: better had it been for him, that the heathen had heard the fame of his juſtice, than of his wilful connivance and partiality; and ſo the name of God and his truth had been leſs blaſphemed among his enemies, and the clergy amended, which daily, by this impunity, grew worſe and worſe. But, O to publiſh in the ſtreets of Aſcalon! ſure ſome colony of puritans have taken Aſcalon from the Turk lately, that the Remonſtrant is ſo afraid of Aſcalon. The papiſts we know condole you, and neither Conſtantinople nor your neighbours of Morocco trouble you. What other Aſcalon can you allude to?

Remonſt. What a death it is to think of the ſport and advantage theſe watchful enemies, theſe oppoſite ſpectators, will be ſure to make of our ſin and ſhame?

Anſw. This is but to fling and ſtruggle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to environ you round.

Remonſt. No one clergy in the whole chriſtian world yields ſo many eminent ſcholars, learned preachers, grave, holy, and accompliſhed divines, as this church of England doth at this day.

Anſw. Ha, ha, ha!

Remonſt. And long, and ever may it thus flouriſh.

Anſw. O peſtilent imprecation! flouriſh as it does at this day in the prelates?

Remonſt. But O forbid to have it told in Gath!

Anſw. Forbid him rather, ſacred parliament, to violate the ſenſe of ſcripture, and turn that which is ſpoken of the afflictions of the church under her pagan enemies, to a pargetted concealment of thoſe prelatical crying ſins: for from theſe is prophaneneſs gone forth into all the land; they have hid their eyes from the ſabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themſelves, and not their flocks; with force and cruelty have they ruled over God's people: they have fed his ſheep (contrary to that which St. Peter writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre; not as examples to the flock, but as being lords over God's heritage: and yet this dauber would daub ſtill with his untempered mortar. But hearken what God ſays by the prophet Ezekiel, "Say unto them that daub this

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this wall with untempered mortar, that it ſhall fall; there ſhall be an overflowing ſhower, and ye, O great hail-ſtones, ſhall fall, and a ſtormy wind ſhall rend it, and I will ſay unto you, the wall is no more, neither they that daubed it."

Remonſt. Whether of us ſhall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeal.

Anſw. Your charity is much to your fellow-offenders, but nothing to the numberleſs ſouls that have been loſt by their falſe feeding: uſe not therefore ſo fillily the name of charity, as moſt commonly you do, and the peaceful attribute of God to a prepoſterous end.

Remonſt. In the next ſection, like illbred ſons, you ſpit in the face of your mother the church of England.

Anſw. What ſhould we do or ſay to this Remonſtrant, that by his idle and ſhallow reaſonings, ſeems to have been converſant in no divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold biſhoprics? we acknowledge, and believe, the catholic reformed church; and if any man be diſpoſed to uſe a trope or figure, as St. Paul did in calling her the common mother of us all, let him do as his own rhetoric ſhall perſuade him If therefore we muſt needs have a mother, and if the catholic church only be, and muſt be ſhe, let all genealogy tell us, if it can, what we muſt call the church of England, unleſs we ſhall make every engliſh proteſtant a kind of poetical Bacchus, to have two mothers: but mark, readers, the crafty ſcope of theſe prelates; they endeavour to impreſs deeply into weak and ſuperſtitious fancies, the awful notion of a mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicit obedience to whatſoever they ſhall decree or think fit. And if we come to aſk a reaſon of aught from our dear mother, ſhe is inviſible, under the lock and key of the prelates her ſpiritual adulterers; they only are the internuncios, or the gobetweens, of this trim deviſed mummery: whatſoever they ſay, ſhe ſays muſt be a deadly ſin of diſobedience not to believe. So that we, who by God's ſpecial grace have ſhaken off the ſervitude of a great male tyrant, our pretended father the pope, ſhould now, if we be not betimes aware of theſe wily

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wily teachers, ſink under the ſlavery of a female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-iſland mother; and, while we think to be obedient ſons, ſhould make ourſelves rather the baſtards, or the centaurs of their ſpiritual fornications.

Remonſt. Take heed of the ravens of the valley.

Anſw. The ravens we are to take heed of are yourſelves, that would peck out the eyes of all knowing chriſtians.

Remonſt. Sit you merry, brethren.

Anſw. So we ſhall when the furies of prelatical conſciences will not give them leave to do ſo.

Queries. Whether they would not jeopard their ears rather, &c.

Anſw. A puniſhment that awaits the merits of your bold accomplices, for the lopping, and ſtigmatizing of ſo many freeborn chriſtians.

Remonſt. Whether the profeſſed ſlovenlineſs in God's ſervice, &c.

Anſw. We have heard of Aaron and his linen amice, but thoſe days are paſt; and for your prieſt under the goſpel, that thinks himſelf the purer or the cleanlier in his office for his newwaſhed ſurplice, we eſteem him for ſanctity little better than Apollonius Thyanæus in his white frock, or the prieſt of Iſis in his lawn ſleeves; and they may all for holineſs lie together in the ſuds.

Remonſt. Whether it were not moſt lawful and juſt to puniſh your preſumption and diſobedience.

Anſw. The puniſhing of that which you call our preſumption and diſobedience, lies not now within the execution of your fangs; the merciful God above, and our juſt parliament will deliver us from your Epheſian beaſts, your cruel Nimrods, with whom we ſhall be ever fearleſs to encounter.

Remonſt. God give you wiſdom to ſee the truth, and grace to follow it.

Anſw. I wiſh the like to all thoſe that reſiſt not the Holy Ghoſt; for of ſuch God commands Jeremiah, ſaying, "Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make interceſſion to me, for I will not hear

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hear thee;" and of ſuch St John ſaith, "He that bids them God ſpeed, is partaker of their evil deeds."

## TO THE POSTCRIPT.

Remonſt. A goodly paſquin borrowed for a great part out of Sion's plea, or the breviate conſiſting of a rhapſody of hiſtories.

Anſw. How wittily you tell us what your wonted courſe is upon the like occaſion: the collection was taken, be it known to you, from as authentic authors in this kind, as any in a biſhop's library; and the collector of it ſays moreover, that if the like occaſion come again, he ſhall leſs need the help of breviates, or hiſtorical rhapſodies, than your reverence to eke out your ſermonings ſhall need repair to poſtils or poliantheas.

Remonſt. They were biſhops, you ſay, true, but they were popiſh biſhops.

Anſw. Since you would bind us to your juriſdiction by their canon law, ſince you would enforce upon us the old riffraff of Sarum, and other monaſtical reliques; ſince you live upon their unjuſt purchaſes, allege their authorities, boaſt of their ſucceſſion, walk in their ſteps, their pride, their titles, their covetouſneſs, their perſecuting of God's people; ſince you diſclaim their actions, and build their ſepulchres, it is moſt juſt that all their faults ſhould be imputed to you, and their iniquities viſited upon you.

Remonſt. Could you ſee no colleges, no hoſpitals built?

Anſw. At that primero of piety, the pope and cardinals are the better gameſters, and will cog a die into Heaven before you.

Remonſt. No churches reedified?

Anſw. Yes, more churches than ſouls.

Remonſt. No learned volumes writ?

Anſw. So did the miſcreant biſhop of Spalato write learned volumes againſt the pope, and run to Rome when he had done: ye write them in your cloſets, and unwrite them in your courts; hot volumiſts and cold biſhops; a ſwaſhbuckler againſt the pope, and a dormouſe againſt the devil, while the whole dioceſe be ſown with

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with tares, and none to reſiſt the enemy, but ſuch as let him in at the poſtern; a rare ſuperintendent at Rome, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites! the goſpel faithfully preached to the poor, the deſolate pariſhes viſited and duly fed; loiterers thrown out, wolves driven from the fold, had been a better confutation of the pope and maſs, than whole hecatontomes of controverſies; and all this careering with ſpear in reſt, and thundering upon the ſteel cap of Baronius or Bellarmine.

Remonſt. No ſeduced perſons reclaimed?

Anſw. More reclaimed perſons ſeduced.

Remonſt. No hoſpitality kept?

Anſw. Bacchanalias good ſtore in every biſhop's family, and good gleeking.

Remonſt. No great offenders puniſhed?

Anſw. The trophies of your high commiſſion are renowned.

Remonſt. No good offices done for the public?

Anſw. Yes, the good office of reducing monarchy to tyranny, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the king.

Remonſt. No care of the peace of the church?

Anſw. No, nor of the land; witneſs the two armies in the North, that now lie plundered, and overrun by a liturgy.

Remonſt. No diligence in preaching?

Anſw. Scarce any preaching at all.

Remonſt. No holineſs in living?

Anſw. No.

Remonſt. Truly, brethren, I can ſay no more, but that the fault is in your eyes.

Anſw. If you can ſay no more than this, you were a proper Remonſtrant to ſtand up for the whole tribe!

Remonſt. Wipe them and look better.

Anſw. Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light.

Remonſt. Yea, I beſeech God to open them rather that they may ſee good.

Anſw. If you mean good prelates, let be your prayer, Aſk not impoſſibilities.

Remonſt. As for that proverb, 'the biſhop's foot hath been in it,' it were more fit for a Scurra in Trivio, or ſome ribald upon an alebench.

Digitized by Google Anſw.

Anſw. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

Remonſt. I doubt not but they will ſay, the biſhop's foot hath been in your book, for I am ſure it is quite ſpoiled by this juſt confutation; for your proverb, Sapit ollam.

Anſw. Spoiled, quoth ye? Indeed it is ſo ſpoiled, as a good ſong is ſpoiled by a lewd finger; or as the ſaying is, "God ſends meat, but the cooks work their wills:" in that ſenſe we grant your biſhop's foot may have ſpoiled it, and made it "Sapere ollam," if not "Sapere aulam;" which is the ſame in old Latin, and perhaps in plain Engliſh. For certain your confutation hath achieved nothing againſt it, and left nothing upon it, but a foul taſte of your ſkillet foot, and a more perfect and diſtinguiſhable odour of your ſocks, than of your nightcap. And how the biſhop ſhould confute a book with his foot, unleſs his brains were dropped into his great toe, I cannot meet with any man that can reſolve me; only they tell me that certainly ſuch a confutation muſt needs be gouty. So much for the biſhop's foot.

Remonſt. You tell us of Bonner's broth; it is the faſhion in ſome countries to ſend in their keal in the laſt ſervice, and this it ſeems is the manner among our Smectymnuans.

Anſw. Your latter ſervice at the high altar you mean: but ſoft, ſir, the feaſt was but begun, the broth was your own, you have been inviting the land to it this fourſcore years; and ſo long we have been your ſlaves to ſerve it up for you, much againſt our wills: we know you have the beef to it, ready in your kitchens, we are ſure it was almoſt ſod before this parliament begun; what direction you have given ſince to your cooks, to ſet it by in the pantry till ſome fitter time, we know not, and therefore your dear jeſt is loſt; this broth was but your firſt ſervice: alas, ſir, why do you delude your gueſts? Why do not thoſe goodly flanks and briſkets march up in your ſtately chargers? Doubtleſs if need be, the pope that owes you for mollifying the matter ſo well with him, and making him a true church, will furniſh you with all the fat oxen of Italy.

Remonſt. Learned and worthy doctor Moulin ſhall tell them.

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Anſw.

Anſw. Moulin ſays in his book of the calling of paſtors, that becauſe biſhops were the reformers of the Engliſh church, therefore they were left remaining: this argument is but of ſmall force to keep you in your cathedrals. For firſt it may be denied that biſhops were our firſt reformers, for Wickliff was before them, and his egregious labours are not to be neglected: beſides, our biſhops were in this work but the diſciples of prieſts, and began the reformation before they were biſhops. But what though Luther and other monks were the reformers of other places? Does it follow therefore that monks ought to continue? No, though Luther had taught ſo. And laſtly, Moulin's argument directly makes againſt you; for if there be nothing in it but this, biſhops were left remaining becauſe they were reformers of the church, by as good a conſequence therefore they are now to be removed, becauſe they have been the moſt certain deformers and ruiners of the church. Thus you ſee how little it avails you to take ſanctuary among thoſe churches which in the general ſcope of your actions formerly you have diſregarded and deſpiſed; however, your fair words would now ſmooth it over otherwiſe.

Remonſt. Our biſhops, ſome whereof being crowned with martyrdom, ſubſcribed the goſpel with their blood.

Anſw. You boaſt much of martyrs to uphold your epiſcopacy; but if you would call to mind what Euſebius in his fifth book recites from Apollinarius of Hierapolis, you ſhould then hear it eſteemed no other than an old heretical argument, to prove a poſition true, becauſe ſome that held it were martyrs; this was that which gave boldneſs to the Marcioniſts and Cataphryges to avouch their impious hereſies for pious doctrine, becauſe they could reckon many martyrs of their ſect; and when they were confuted in other points, this was ever their laſt and ſtouteſt plea.

Remonſt. In the mean time I beſeech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Anſw. We ſhall beſeech the ſame God to give you a more profitable and pertinent humiliation than yet you know, and a leſs miſtaken charitableneſs, with that peace which you have hitherto ſo perverſely miſaffected.

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An

Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy,
Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen,
[ 207 ] William Spurston
Their initials combined into pseudonym

AN

# APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUUS.

If, readers, to that ſame great difficulty of well-doing what we certainly know, were not added in moſt men as great a careleſſneſs of knowing what they and others ought to do, we had been long ere this, no doubt but all of us, much farther on our way to ſome degree of peace and happineſs in this kingdom. But ſince our ſinful neglect of practiſing that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through God's juſt anger, ſo great a difficulty now to know that which otherwiſe might be ſoon learnt, and hath divided us by a controverſy of great importance indeed, but of no hard ſolution, which is the more our puniſhment; I reſolved (of what ſmall moment ſoever I might be thought) to ſtand on that ſide where I ſaw both the plain authority of ſcripture leading, and the reaſon of juſtice and equity perſuading; with this opinion, which eſteems it more unlike a chriſtian to be a cold neuter in the cauſe of the church, than the law of Solon made it puniſhable after a ſedition in the ſtate. And becauſe I obſerve that fear and dull diſpoſition, lukewarmneſs and ſloth, are not ſeldomer wont to cloak themſelves under the affected name of moderation, than true and lively zeal is cuſtomably diſparaged with the term of indiſcretion, bitterneſs, and choler; I could not to my thinking honour a good cauſe more from the heart, than by defending it earneſtly, as oft as I could judge it to behove me, notwithſtanding any falſe name that could be invented to wrong or undervalue an honeſt meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to ſingle forth more than once ſuch of them as were thought the chief and moſt nominated oppoſers on the other ſide, whom no man elſe undertook; if I have done well either

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either to be confident of the truth, whose force is best seen against the ablest resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping authority of great names titled to false opinions; or that it be lawful to attribute somewhat to gifts of God's imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and fear also lest at my certain account they be reckoned to me rather many than few; or if lastly it be but justice not to defraud of due esteem the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tired out almost a whole youth. I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption: knowing, that if heretofore all ages have received with favour and good acceptance the early industry of him that hath been hopeful, it were but hard measure now, if the freedom of any timely spirit should be oppressed merely by the big and blunted fame of his elder adversary; and that his sufficiency must be now sentenced, not by pondering the reason he shows, but by calculating the years he brings. However as my purpose is not, nor hath been formerly, to look on my adversary abroad, through the deceiving glass of other men's great opinion of him, but at home, where I may find him in the proper light of his own worth; so now against the rancour of an evil tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly, as that I of all men should be exempt, I must be forced to proceed from the unfeigned and diligent inquiry of my own conscience at home (for better way I know not, readers) to give a more true account of myself abroad than this modest confuter, as he calls himself, hath given of me. Albeit, that in doing this, I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a party in mine own cause, and therein to see least: the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the public view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I entreat who have found the leisure to read that name, however of small repute, unworthily defamed, would be so good and so patient as to hear the same person not unneedfully defended,

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defended. I will not deny but that the beſt apology againſt falſe accuſers is ſilence and ſufferance, and honeſt deeds ſet againſt diſhoneſt words. And that I could at this time moſt eaſily and ſecurely, with the leaſt loſs of reputation, uſe no other defence, I need not deſpair to win belief; whether I conſider both the fooliſh contriving and ridiculous aiming of theſe his ſlanderous bolts, ſhot ſo wide of any ſuſpicion to be faſtened on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceived my friends congratulating themſelves in my innocence, and my enemies aſhamed of their partner's folly: or whether I look at theſe preſent times wherein moſt men, now ſcarce permitted the liberty to think over their own concernments, have removed the ſeat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of public events: or whether the examples of men, either noble or religious, who have ſat down lately with a meek ſilence and ſufferance under many libellous endorſements, may be a rule to others, I might well appeaſe myſelf to put up any reproaches in ſuch an honourable ſociety of fellow-ſufferers, uſing no other defence. And were it that ſlander would be content to make an end where it firſt fixes, and not ſeek to caſt out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the perſon traduced, I ſhould have pleaded againſt this confuter by no other advocates than thoſe which I firſt commended, ſilence and ſufferance, and ſpeaking deeds againſt faltering words. But when I diſcerned his intent was not ſo much to ſmite at me, as through me to render odious the truth which I had written, and to ſtain with ignominy that evangelic doctrine which oppoſes the tradition of prelaty; I conceived myſelf to be now not as mine own perſon, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was perſuaded, and whereof I had declared openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to myſelf, yet to the religious cauſe I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the leaſt ſpot or blemiſh in good name, ſo long as God ſhould give me to ſay that which might wipe it off. Leſt thoſe diſgraces, which I ought to ſuffer, if it ſo befall me, for my religion, through my default religion be made liable to ſuffer for me. And, whether it



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might not ſomething reflect upon thoſe reverent men, whoſe friend I may be thought in writing the Animadverſions, was not my laſt care to conſider; if I ſhould reſt under theſe reproaches, having the ſame common adverſary with them, it might be counted ſmall credit for their cauſe to have found ſuch an aſſiſtant, as this babbler hath deviſed me. What other thing in his book there is of diſpute or queſtion, in anſwering thereto I doubt not to be juſtified; except there be who will condemn me to have waſted time in throwing down that which could not keep itſelf up. As for others, who notwithſtanding what I can allege have yet decreed to miſinterpret the intents of my reply, I ſuppoſe they would have found as many cauſes to have miſconceived the reaſons of my ſilence.

To begin therefore an apology for thoſe animadverſions, which I writ againſt the Remonſtrant in defence of Smectymnuus; ſince the preface, which was purpoſely ſet before them, is not thought apologetical enough, it will be beſt to acquaint ye, readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be aſked wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to anſwer, that I did it to thoſe ends, which the beſt men propoſe to themſelves when they write: but wherefore in that manner, neglecting the main bulk of all that ſpecious antiquity, which might ſtun children, and not men, I choſe rather to obſerve ſome kind of military advantages to await him at his foragings, at his waterings, and whenever he felt himſelf ſecure, to ſolace his vein in deriſion of his more ſerious opponents. And here let me have pardon, readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenſed himſelf to utter contemptuouſly of thoſe reverend men, provoke me to do that over again, which ſome expect I ſhould excuſe as too freely done; ſince I have two provocations, his lateſt inſulting in his ſhort anſwer, and their final patience. I had no fear, but that the authors of Smectymnuus, to all the ſhow of ſolidity, which the Remonſtrant could bring, were prepared both with ſkill and purpoſe

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purpoſe to return a ſufficing anſwer, and were able enough to lay the duſt and pudder in antiquity, which he and his, out of ſtratagem, are wont to raiſe; but when I ſaw his weak arguments headed with ſharp taunts, and that his deſign was, if he could not refute them, yet at leaſt with quips and ſnapping adages to vapour them out, which they, bent only upon the buſineſs, were minded to let paſs; by how much I ſaw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I muſt confeſs I took it as my part the leſs to endure that my reſpected friends, through their own unneceſſary patience, ſhould thus lie at the mercy of a coy flirting ſtyle; to be girded with frumps and curtal gibes, by one who makes ſentences by the ſtatute, as if all above three inches long were confiſcate. To me it ſeemed an indignity, that whom his whole wiſdom could not move from their place, them his impetuous folly ſhould preſume to ride over. And if I were more warm than was meet in any paſſage of that book, which yet I do not yield, I might uſe therein the patronage of no worſe an author than Gregory Nyſſen, who mentioning his ſharpneſs againſt Eunomius in the defence of his brother Baſil, holds himſelf irreprovable in that "it was not for himſelf, but in the cauſe of his brother; and in ſuch caſes," ſaith he, "perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry than to be cooler." And whereas this confuter taxes the whole diſcourſe of levity, I ſhall ſhow ye, readers, whereſoever it ſhall be objected in particular, that I have anſwered with as little lightneſs as the Remonſtrant hath given example. I have not been ſo light as the palm of a biſhop, which is the lighteſt thing in the world when he brings out his book of ordination: for then, contrary to that which is wont in releaſing out of priſon, any one that will pay his fees is laid hands on. Another reaſon, it would not be amiſs though the Remonſtrant were told, wherefore he was in that unuſual manner beleaguered; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not prelatical, are groſs-headed, thick-witted, illiterate, ſhallow. Can nothing then but epiſcopacy teach men to ſpeak good engliſh, to pick and order a ſet of words judiciouſly? Muſt we learn from canons and



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quaint ſermonings, interlined with barbarous latin, to illumine a period, to wreath an enthymema with maſterous dexterity? I rather incline, as I have heard it obſerved, that a jeſuit's Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be born and bred a Florentine, ſo to think, that from like cauſes we may go near to obſerve the ſame in the ſtyle of a prelate. For doubtleſs that indeed according to art is moſt eloquent, which turns and approaches neareſt to nature from whence it came; and they expreſs nature beſt, who in their lives leaſt wander from her ſafe leading, which may be called regenerate reaſon. So that how he ſhould be truly eloquent who is not withal a good man, I ſee not. Nevertheleſs, as oft as is to be dealt with men who pride themſelves in their ſuppoſed art, to leave them inexcuſable wherein they will not be bettered; there be of thoſe that eſteem prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe if they can dance, nor will be unfurniſhed to ſhow, that what the prelates admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the ſcripture teacheth us how we ought to withſtand the perverters of the goſpel, were thoſe other motives, which gave the Animadverſions no leave to remit a continual vehemence throughout the book. For as in teaching doubtleſs the ſpirit of meekneſs is moſt powerful, ſo are the meek only fit perſons to be taught: as for the proud, the obſtinate, and falſe doctors of men's devices, be taught they will not, but diſcovered and laid open they muſt be. For how can they admit of teaching, who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refuſing divine inſtruction? That is, to be filled with their own devices, as in the Proverbs we may read: therefore we may ſafely imitate the method that God uſes; "with the froward to be froward, and to throw ſcorn upon the ſcorner," whom, if any thing, nothing elſe will heal. And if the "righteous ſhall laugh at the deſtruction of the ungodly," they may alſo laugh at the pertinacious and incurable obſtinacy, and at the ſame time be moved with deteſtation of their ſeducing malice, who employ all their wits to defend a prelaty uſurped, and to deprave that juſt government, which pride and ambition, partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath ſhoul-

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dered

dered out of the church. And againſt ſuch kind of deceivers openly and earneſtly to proteſt, leſt any one ſhould be inquiſitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder than others, let him know that this office goes not by age or youth, but to whomſoever God ſhall give apparently the will, the ſpirit, and the utterance. Ye have heard the reaſons for which I thought not myſelf exempted from aſſociating with good men in their labours toward the church's welfare; to which, if any one brought oppoſition, I brought my beſt reſiſtance. If in requital of this, and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gained a name beſtuck, or as I may ſay, bedecked with the reproaches and reviles of this modeſt confuter; it ſhall be to me neither ſtrange nor unwelcome, as that which could not come in a better time.

Having rendered an account what induced me to write thoſe animadverſions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to ſee what the confutation hath to ſay againſt them; but ſo as the confuter ſhall hear firſt what I have to ſay againſt his confutation. And becauſe he pretends to be a great conjector at other men by their writings, I will not fail to give ye, readers, a preſent taſte of him from his title, hung out like a tolling ſign poſt to call paſſengers, not ſimply a confutation, but "a modeſt confutation," with a laudatory of itſelf obtruded in the very firſt word. Whereas a modeſt title ſhould only inform the buyer what the book contains without further inſinuation; this officious epithet ſo haſtily aſſuming the modeſty which others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himſelf by foreſtalling, is a ſtrong preſumption, that his modeſty, ſet there to ſale in the frontiſpiece, is not much addicted to bluſh. A ſurer ſign of his loſt ſhame he could not have given, than ſeeking thus unſeaſonably to prepoſſeſs men of his modeſty. And ſeeing he hath neither kept his word in the ſequel, nor omitted any kind of boldneſs in ſlandering, it is manifeſt his purpoſe was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word modeſt, that he might not want colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. Next, what can equally ſavour of



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injuſtice and plain arrogance, as to prejudice and fore-condemn his adverſary in the title for "ſlanderous and ſcurrilous," and as the Remonſtrant's faſhion is, for frivolous, tedious, and falſe, not ſtaying till the reader can hear him proved ſo in the following diſcourſe? Which is one cauſe of a ſuſpicion that in ſetting forth this pamphlet the Remonſtrant was not unconſulted with: thus his firſt addreſs was "an humble remonſtrance by a dutiful ſon of the church," almoſt as if he had ſaid, her white-boy. His next was, "a Defence" (a wonder how it eſcaped ſome praiſing adjunct) "againſt the frivolous and falſe exceptions againſt Smectymnuus," ſitting in the chair of his title-page upon his poor caſt adverſaries both as a judge and party, and that before the jury of readers can be impannelled. His laſt was "a ſhort anſwer to a tedious vindication;" ſo little can he ſuffer a man to meaſure either with his eye or judgment, what is ſhort or what tedious, without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this "modeſt confutation againſt a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous libel," I conceive, readers, much may be gueſſed at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title; which being in this Remonſtrant ſo raſh and unadviſed as ye ſee, I conceit him to be near akin to him who ſet forth a paſſion ſermon with a formal dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end in his praiſe and glory, yet to inſcribe him in a void place with flouriſhes, as a man in compliment uſes to trick up the name of ſome eſquire, gentleman, or lord paramount at common law, to be his book-patron, with the appendant form of a ceremonious preſentment, will ever appear among the judicious to be but an inſulſe and frigid affectation. As no leſs was that before his book againſt the Browniſts, to write a letter to a Proſopopœia, a certain rhetorized woman whom he calls mother, and complains of ſome that laid whoredom to her charge; and certainly had he folded his epiſtle with a ſuperſcription to be delivered to that female figure by any poſt or carrier, who were not a ubiquitary, it had been a moſt miraculous greeting. We find the primitive doctors, as oft as they writ to churches, ſpeaking to them as to a number

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number of faithful brethren and ſons, and not to make a cloudy tranſmigration of ſexes in ſuch a familiar way of writing as an epiſtle ought to be, leaving the track of common addreſs, to run up, and tread the air in metaphorical compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. But I ſtep again to this emblazoner of his titlepage, (whether it be the ſame man or no, I leave it in the midſt,) and here I find him pronouncing without reprieve, thoſe animadverſions to be a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous libel. To which I, readers, that they are neither ſlanderous, nor ſcurrilous, will anſwer in what place of his book he ſhall be found with reaſon, and not ink only in his mouth. Nor can it be a libel more than his own, which is both nameleſs and full of ſlanders; and if in this that it freely ſpeaks of things amiſs in religion, but eſtabliſhed by act of ſtate, I ſee not how Wickliff and Luther, with all the firſt martyrs and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the human frailty of erring in caſes of religion, infamy to a ſtate, no more than to a council: it had therefore been neither civil nor chriſtianly, to derogate the honour of the ſtate for that cauſe, eſpecially when I ſaw the parliament itſelf piouſly and magnanimouſly bent to ſupply and reform the defects and overſights of their forefathers, which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jews were often matter of humble confeſſing and bewailing, not of confident aſſerting and maintaining. Of the ſtate therefore I found good reaſon to ſpeak all honourable things, and to join in petition with good men that petitioned: but againſt the prelates, who were the only ſeducers and miſleaders of the ſtate to conſtitute the government of the church not rightly, methought I had not vehemence enough. And thus, readers, by the example which he hath ſet me, I have given ye two or three notes of him out of his titlepage; by which his firſtlings fear not to gueſs boldly at his whole lump, for that gueſs will not fail ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may bear with me, ſince I am like to chaſe him into ſome good knowledge, and others, I truſt, ſhall not miſpend their leiſure. For this my aim is, if I am forced to be unpleaſing to him whoſe fault it is, I ſhall



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not forget at the ſame time to be uſeful in ſomething to the ſtander by.

As therefore he began in the title, ſo in the next leaf he makes it his firſt buſineſs to tamper with his reader by ſycophanting and miſnaming the work of his adverſary. He calls it "a mime thruſt forth upon the ſtage, to make up the breaches of thoſe ſolemn ſcenes between the prelates and the Smectymnuans." Wherein while he is ſo over-greedy to fix a name of ill ſound upon another, note how ſtupid he is to expoſe himſelf or his own friends to the ſame ignominy; likening thoſe grave controverſies to a piece of ſtagery, or ſcenework, where his own Remonſtrant, whether in buſkin or ſock, muſt of all right be counted the chief player, be it boaſting Thraſo, or Davus that troubles all things, or one who can ſhift into any ſhape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath reſembled the whole argument to a comedy, for "tragical," he ſays, "were too ominous." Nor yet doth he tell us what a mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers, except ſome fragments, which contain many acute and wiſe ſentences. And this we know in Laertius, that the mimes of Sophron were of ſuch reckoning with Plato, as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his pillow. Scaliger deſcribes a mime to be a poem intimating any action to ſtir up laughter. But this being neither poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abuſively taxed to be a mime? For if every book, which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, muſt be termed thus, then may the dialogues of Plato, who for thoſe his writings hath obtained the ſurname of divine, be eſteemed as they are by that detractor in Athenæus, no better than mimes. Becauſe there is ſcarce one of them, eſpecially wherein ſome notable ſophiſter lies ſweating and turmoiling under the inevitable and mercileſs dilemmas of Socrates, but that he who reads, were it Saturn himſelf, would be often robbed of more than a ſmile. And whereas he tells us, that "ſcurrilous Mime was a perſonated grim lowering fool," his fooliſh language unwittingly writes fool upon his own friend, for he who was there perſonated was only the Remonſtrant; the author is ever diſtinguiſhed from the perſon

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perſon he introduces. But in an ill hour hath this unfortunate raſhneſs ſtumbled upon the mention of miming, that he might at length ceaſe, which he hath not yet ſince he ſtepped in, to gall and hurt him whom he would aid. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he ſo uncircumſpect as not to foreſee, that no ſooner would that word mime be ſet eye on in the paper, but it would bring to mind that wretched pilgrimage over Minſhew's dictionary called "Mundus alter & idem," the idleſt and the paltrieſt mime that ever mounted upon bank? Let him aſk "the author of thoſe toothleſs ſatires," who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that univerſal foolery, who he was, who like that other principal of the Manichees the arch evil one, when he had looked upon all that he had made and mapped out, could ſay no other but contrary to the divine mouth, that it was all very fooliſh. That grave and noble invention, which the greateſt and ſublimeſt wits in ſundry ages, Plato in Critias, and our two famous countrymen, the one in his "Utopia," the other in his "New Atlantis" choſe, I may not ſay as a field, but as a mighty continent, wherein to diſplay the largeneſs of their ſpirits, by teaching this our world better and exacter things than were yet known or uſed: this petty prevaricator of America, the zany of Columbus (for ſo he muſt be till his world's end) having rambled over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvel if he brought us home nothing but a mere tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a ſtews. Certainly, he that could endure with a ſober pen to ſit and deviſe laws for drunkards to carouſe by, I doubt me whether the very ſoberneſs of ſuch a one, like an unliquored Silenus, were not ſtark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriouſly with the name of Mime, being himſelf, the looſeſt and moſt extravagant Mime that hath been heard of, whom no leſs than almoſt half the world could ſerve for ſtage-room to play the Mime in. And let him adviſe again with ſir Francis Bacon, whom he cites to confute others, what it is "to turn the ſins of chriſtendom into a mimical mockery, to rip up the ſaddeſt vices with a laughing

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laughing countenance," especially where neither reproof nor better teaching is adjoined. Nor is my meaning, readers, to shift off a blame from myself, by charging the like upon my accuser, but shall only desire, that sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first onset, not in confuting, but in a reasonless defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like against the author; not by proofs and testimonies, but "having no certain notice of me," as he professes, "further than what he gathers from the animadversions," blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a serpent, suck from any thing that I have written, but from his own stuffed magazine, and hoard of slanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venom in the drawing. To me, readers, it happens as a singular contentment; and let it be to good men no light satisfaction, that the slanderer here confesses, he has "no further notice of me than his own conjecture." Although it had been honest to have inquired, before he uttered such infamous words, and I am credibly informed he did inquire; but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he received, whereon to ground the falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course under a pretended ignorance to let drive at random, lest he should lose his odd ends, which from some penurious book of characters he had been culling out and would fain apply. Not caring to burden me with those vices, whereof, among whom my conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected; perhaps not without some subtlety to cast me into envy, by bringing on me a necessity to enter into mine own praises. In which argument I know every wise man is more unwillingly drawn to speak, than the most repining ear can be averse to hear. Nevertheless, since I dare not wish to pass this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally praised is woeful, I shall rely on his promise to free the innocent from causeless aspersions: whereof nothing sooner can assure me, than if I shall feel him now assisting

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aſſiſting me in the juſt vindication of myſelf, which yet I could defer, it being more meet, that to thoſe other matters of public debatement in this book I ſhould give attendance firſt, but that I fear it would but harm the truth for me to reaſon in her behalf, ſo long as I ſhould ſuffer my honeſt eſtimation to lie unpurged from theſe inſolent ſuſpicions. And if I ſhall be large, or unwonted in juſtifying myſelf to thoſe who know me not, for elſe it would be needleſs, let them conſider that a ſhort ſlander will oft-times reach further than a long apology; and that he who will do juſtly to all men, muſt begin from knowing how, if it ſo happen, to be not unjuſt to himſelf. I muſt be thought, if this libeller, (for now he ſhows himſelf to be ſo) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth ſpent at the univerſity, to have been at length "vomited out thence." For which commodious lie, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occaſion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favour and reſpect, which I found above any of my equals at the hands of thoſe courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I ſpent ſome years: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, ſignified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would ſtay; as by many letters full of kindneſs and loving reſpect, both before that time, and long after, I was aſſured of their ſingular good affection towards me. Which being likewiſe propenſe to all ſuch as were for their ſtudious and civil life worthy of eſteem, I could not wrong their judgments, and upright intentions, ſo much as to think I had that regard from them for other cauſe, than that I might be ſtill encouraged to proceed in the honeſt and laudable courſes, of which they apprehended I had given good proof. And to thoſe ingenuous and friendly men, who were ever the countenancers of virtuous and hopeful wits, I wiſh the beſt and happieſt things, that friends in abſence wiſh one to another. As for the common approbation or diſlike of that place, as now it is, that I ſhould eſteem or diſeſteem myſelf, or any other the more for that; too ſimple and too credulous

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credulous is the confuter, if he think to obtain with me, or any right diſcerner. Of ſmall practice were that phyſician, who could not judge by what both ſhe or her ſiſter hath of long time vomited, that the worſer ſtuff ſhe ſtrongly keeps in her ſtomach, but the better ſhe is ever kecking at, and is queaſy. She vomits now out of ſickneſs; but ere it will be well with her, ſhe muſt vomit by ſtrong phyſic. In the mean while that ſuburb ſink, as this rude ſcavenger calls it, and more than ſcurrilouſly taunts it with the plague, having a worſe plague in his middle entrail, that ſuburb wherein I dwell, ſhall be in my account a more honourable place than his univerſity. Which as in the time of her better health, and mine own younger judgment, I never greatly admired, ſo now much leſs. But he follows me to the city, ſtill uſurping and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirms to have had; "and where my morning haunts are, he wiſſes not." It is wonder, that being ſo rare an alchymiſt of ſlander, he could not extract that, as well as the univerſity vomit, and the ſuburb ſink which his art could diſtil ſo cunningly; but becauſe his limbec fails him, to give him and envy the more vexation, I will tell him. Thoſe morning haunts are where they ſhould be, at home; not ſleeping, or concocting the ſurfeits of an irregular feaſt, but up and ſtirring, in winter often ere the ſound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in ſummer as oft with the bird that firſt rouſes, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cauſe them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught: then with uſeful and generous labours preſerving the body's health and hardineſs to render lightſome, clear, and not lumpiſh obedience to the mind, to the cauſe of religion, and our country's liberty, when it ſhall require firm hearts in ſound bodies to ſtand and cover their ſtations, rather than to ſee the ruin of our proteſtation, and the inforcement of a ſlaviſh life. Theſe are the morning practices: proceed now to the afternoon; "in playhouſes," he ſays, "and the bordelloes." Your intelligence, unfaithful ſpy of Canaan? He gives in his evidence, that "there he hath traced me." Take him at his word, readers, but let him bring good

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good ſureties ere ye diſmiſs him, that while he pretended to dog others, he did not turn in for his own pleaſure: for ſo much in effect he concludes againſt himſelf, not contented to be caught in every other gin, but he muſt be ſuch a novice, as to be ſtill hampered in his own hemp. In the animadverſions, ſaith he, I find the mention of old cloaks, falſe beards, nightwalkers, and ſalt lotion; therefore the animadverter haunts playhouſes and bordelloes; for if he did not, how could he ſpeak of ſuch gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a child, and yet to meddle with edged tools, I turn his antiſtrophon upon his own head; the confuter knows that theſe things are the furniture of playhouſes and bordelloes, therefore by the ſame reaſon "the confuter himſelf hath been traced in thoſe places." Was it ſuch a diſſolute ſpeech, telling of ſome politicians who were wont to eavesdrop in diſguiſes, to ſay they were often liable to a nightwalking cudgeller, or the emptying of a urinal? What if I had writ as your friend the author of the aforeſaid mime, "Mundus alter & idem," to have been raviſhed like ſome young Cephalus or Hylas, by a troop of camping houſewifes in Viraginea, and that he was there forced to ſwear himſelf an uxorious varlet; then after a long ſervitude to have come into Aphrodiſia that pleaſant country, that gave ſuch a ſweet ſmell to his noſtrils among the ſhameleſs courtezans of Deſvergonia? Surely he would have then concluded me as conſtant at the bordello, as the galleyſlave at his oar. But ſince there is ſuch neceſſity to the hearſay of a tire, a periwig, or a vizard, that plays muſt have been ſeen, what difficulty was there in that? when in the colleges ſo many of the young divines, and thoſe in next aptitude to divinity, have been ſeen ſo often upon the ſtage, writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and diſhoneſt geſtures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds; proſtituting the ſhame of that miniſtry, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, with their grooms and mademoiſelles. There while they acted and overacted, among other young ſcholars, I was a ſpectator; they thought themſelves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made

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made ſport, and I laughed; they miſpronounced, and I miſliked; and to make up the atticiſm, they were out, and I hiſſed. Judge now whether ſo many good text-men were not ſufficient to inſtruct me of falſe beards and vizards, without more expoſitors; and how can this confuter take the face to object to me the ſeeing of that, which his reverend prelates allow, and incite their young diſciples to act? For if it be unlawful to ſit and behold a mercenary comedian perſonating that which is leaſt unſeemly for a hireling to do, how much more blameful is it to endure the ſight of as vile things acted by perſons either entered, or preſently to enter into the miniſtry; and how much more foul and ignominious for them to be the actors?

But becauſe as well by this upbraiding to me the bordelloes, as by other ſuſpicious glancings in his book, he would ſeem privily to point me out to his readers, as one whoſe cuſtom of life were not honeſt, but licentious; I ſhall intreat to be born with, though I digreſs; and in a way not often trod, acquaint ye with the ſum of my thoughts in this matter, through the courſe of my years and ſtudies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the noſe of the envious, as it were in ſkirmiſh to change the compact order, and inſtead of outward actions, to bring inmoſt thoughts into front. And I muſt tell ye, readers, that by this ſort of men I have been already bitten at; yet ſhall they not for me know how ſlightly they are eſteemed, unleſs they have ſo much learning as to read what in greek ἀπειροκαλία is, which, together with envy, is the common diſeaſe of thoſe who cenſure books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whoſe outward garment hath been injured and illbedighted; for having no other ſhift, what help but to turn the inſide outwards, eſpecially if the lining be of the ſame, or, as it is ſometimes, much better? So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I muſt make trial, if the diſcovery of my inmoſt thoughts can: wherein of two purpoſes both honeſt, and both ſincere, the one perhaps I ſhall not miſs; although I fail to gain belief with others, of being ſuch as my perpetual thoughts

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thoughts ſhall here diſcloſe me, I may yet not fail of ſucceſs in perſuading ſome to be ſuch really themſelves, as they cannot believe me to be more than what I fain. I had my time, readers, as others have, who have good learning beſtowed upon them, to be ſent to thoſe places, where the opinion was, it might be ſooneſt attained; and as the manner is, was not unſtudied in thoſe authors which are moſt commended; whereof ſome were grave orators and hiſtorians, whoſe matter methought I loved indeed, but as my age then was, ſo I underſtood them; others were the ſmooth elegiac poets, whereof the ſchools are not ſcarce, whom both for the pleaſing ſound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found moſt eaſy, and moſt agreeable to nature's part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was ſo allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome: for that it was then thoſe years with me which are excuſed, though they be leaſt ſevere, I may be ſaved the labour to remember ye. Whence having obſerved them to account it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ableſt to judge, to praiſe, and by that could eſteem themſelves worthieſt to love thoſe high perfections, which under one or other name they took to celebrate; I thought with myſelf by every inſtinct and preſage of nature, which is not wont to be falſe, that what emboldened them to this taſk, might with ſuch diligence as they uſed embolden me; and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my ſhare, would herein beſt appear, and beſt value itſelf, by how much more wiſely, and with more love of virtue I ſhould chooſe (let rude ears be abſent) the object of not unlike praiſes: for albeit theſe thoughts to ſome will ſeem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third ſort perhaps idle; yet the mentioning of them now will end in ſerious. Nor blame it, readers, in thoſe years to propoſe to themſelves ſuch a reward, as the nobleſt diſpoſitions above other things in this life have ſometimes preferred: whereof not to be ſenſible when good and fair in one perſon meet, argues both a groſs and ſhallow judgment, and withal an ungentle, and ſwainiſh breaſt:

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breaſt: for by the firm ſettling of theſe perſuaſions, I became, to my beſt memory, ſo much a proficient, that if I found thoſe authors any where ſpeaking unworthy things of themſelves, or unchaſte of thoſe names which before they had extolled; this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I ſtill applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all, preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never write, but honour of them to whom they devote their verſe, diſplaying ſublime and pure thoughts, without tranſgreſſion. And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be fruſtrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himſelf to be a true poem; that is, a compoſition and pattern of the beſt and honourableſt things; not preſuming to ſing high praiſes of heroic men, or famous cities, unleſs he have in himſelf the experience and the practice of all that which is praiſeworthy. Theſe reaſonings, together with a certain niceneſs of nature, an honeſt haughtineſs, and ſelfeſteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envy call pride) and laſtly that modeſty, whereof though not in the titlepage, yet here I may be excuſed to make ſome beſeeming profeſſion; all theſe uniting the ſupply of their natural aid together, kept me ſtill above thoſe low deſcents of mind, beneath which he muſt deject and plunge himſelf, that can agree to ſalable and unlawful proſtitutions. Next, (for hear me out now, readers) that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wandered; I betook me among thoſe lofty fables and romances, which recount in ſolemn cantoes the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all chriſtendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight, that he ſhould defend to the expenſe of his beſt blood, or of his life, if it ſo befel him, the honour and chaſtity of virgin or matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the defence of which ſo many worthies, by ſuch a dear adventure of themſelves, had ſworn; and if I found in the ſtory afterward, any of them, by word or deed, breaking that oath,

I judged

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I judged it the same fault of the poet, as that which is attributed to Homer, to have written indecent things of the gods: only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder to stir him up both by his counsel and his arm, to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of bordelloes. Thus from the laureat fraternity of poets, riper years and the ceaseless round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon: where, if I should tell ye what I learnt of chastity and love, I mean that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy; (the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the abuser of love's name, carries about;) and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, knowledge and virtue: with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening, readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary, as ye know, barking at the door, or searching for me at the bordelloes, where it may be he has lost himself, and raps up without pity the sage and rheumatic old prelatess, with all her young Corinthian laity, to inquire for such a one. Last of all, not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of christian religion: this that I have hitherto related, hath been to show, that though christianity had been but slightly taught me, yet a certain reservedness of natural disposition, and moral discipline, learnt out of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep me in disdain of far less incontinences than this



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of the bordello. But having had the doctrine of holy ſcripture, unfolding thoſe chaſte and high myſteries, with timelieſt care infuſed, that "the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body;" thus alſo I argued to myſelf, that if unchaſtity in a woman, whom St. Paul terms the glory of man, be ſuch a ſcandal and diſhonour, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it muſt, though commonly not ſo thought, be much more deflowering and diſhonourable; in that he ſins both againſt his own body, which is the perfecter ſex, and his own glory, which is in the woman; and that which is worſt, againſt the image and glory of God, which is in himſelf. Nor did I ſlumber over that place, expreſſing ſuch high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with thoſe celeſtial ſongs to others inapprehenſible, but not to thoſe who were not defiled with women, which doubtleſs means fornication; for marriage muſt not be called a defilement. Thus large I have purpoſely been, that if I have been juſtly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me, after all this my confeſſion, with a tenfold ſhame: but if I have hitherto deſerved no ſuch opprobrious word, or ſuſpicion, I may hereby engage myſelf now openly to the faithful obſervation of what I have profeſſed. I go on to ſhow you the unbridled impudence of this looſe railer, who, having once begun his race, regards not how far he flies out beyond all truth and ſhame; who, from the ſingle notice of the Animadverſions, as he proteſts, will undertake to tell ye the very clothes I wear, though he be much miſtaken in my wardrobe: and, like a ſon of Belial, without the hire of Jezebel, charges me "of blaſpheming God and the king," as ordinarily as he imagines "me to drink ſack and ſwear," merely becauſe this was a ſhred in his commonplace book, and ſeemed to come off roundly, as if he were ſome empiric of falſe accuſations, to try his poiſons upon me, whether they would work or no. Whom what ſhould I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book, which is his only teſtimony, returns the lie upon him; not giving him the leaſt hint of the author to be either a ſwearer or a ſack-drinker. And for the readers, if they can believe me, principally

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principally for thoſe reaſons which I have alleged, to be of life and purpoſe neither diſhoneſt nor unchaſte, they will be eaſily induced to think me ſober both of wine and of word; but if I have been already ſucceſsleſs in perſuading them, all that I can further ſay, will be but vain; and it will be better thrift to ſave two tedious labours, mine of excuſing, and theirs of needleſs hearing.

Proceeding, further, I am met with a whole ging of words and phraſes not mine, for he hath maimed them, and, like a fly depraver, mangled them in this his wicked limbo, worſe than the ghoſt of Deiphobus appeared to his friend Æneas. Here I ſcarce know them, and he that would, let him repair to the place in that book where I ſet them: for certainly this tormentor of ſemicolons is as good at diſmembering and ſlitting ſentences, as his grave fathers the prelates have been at ſtigmatizing and ſlitting noſes. By ſuch handicraft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour, which being his own muſt needs offend his ſenſe of ſmelling, ſince he will needs beſtow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he wears a ſock, I ſhall endeavour it may be offenceleſs to other men's ears. The Remonſtrant having to do with grave and reverend men his adverſaries, thought it became him to tell them in ſcorn, that, "the biſhop's foot had been in their book and confuted it;" which when I ſaw him arrogate, to have done that with his heels that ſurpaſſed the beſt conſideration of his head, to ſpurn a confutation among reſpected men, I queſtioned not the lawfulneſs of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odour a ſock would have in ſuch painful buſineſs. And this may have chanced to touch him more nearly than I was aware, for indeed a biſhop's foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a linen ſock over it, is the apteſt emblem of the prelate himſelf; who being a pluraliſt, may under one ſurplice, which is alſo linen, hide four benefices, beſides the metropolitan toe, and ſends a fouler ſtench to Heaven, than that which this young queaſineſs retches at. And this is the immediate reaſon here why our enraged confuter, that he may be as perfect a hypocrite as Caiphas, ere he be a high-



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prieſt, cries out, "Horrid blaſphemy!" and, like a recreant Jew, calls for ſtones. I beſeech ye, friends, ere the brickbats fly, reſolve me and yourſelves, is it blaſphemy, or any whit diſagreeing from chriſtian meekneſs, whenas Chriſt himſelf, ſpeaking of unſavoury traditions, ſcruples not to name the dunghill and the jakes, for me to anſwer a ſlovenly wincer of a confutation, that if he would needs put his foot to ſuch a ſweaty ſervice, the odour of his ſock was like to be neither muſk nor benjamin? Thus did that fooliſh monk in a barbarous declamation accuſe Petrarch of blaſphemy for diſpraiſing the french wines. But this which follows is plain Bedlam ſtuff, this is the demoniac legion indeed, which the Remonſtrant feared had been againſt him, and now he may ſee is for him. "You that love Chriſt," ſaith he, "and know this miſcreant wretch, ſtone him to death, leſt you ſmart for his impunity." What thinks the Remonſtrant? does he like that ſuch words as theſe ſhould come out of his ſhop, out of his Trojan horſe? To give the watch-word like a Guiſian of Paris to a mutiny or maſſacre; to proclaim a croiſade againſt his fellow-chriſtian now in this troublous and divided time of the kingdom? If he do, I ſhall ſay that to be the Remonſtrant, is no better than to be a jeſuit; and that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in Ireland to the proteſtants, they would do in England the ſame to them that would no prelates. For a more ſeditious and butcherly ſpeech no cell of Loyola could have belched againſt one who in all his writing ſpake not, that any man's ſkin ſhould be raiſed. And yet this curſing Shimei, a hurler of ſtones, as well as a railer, wants not the face inſtantly to make as though he "deſpaired of victory, unleſs a modeſt defence would get it him." Did I err at all, readers, to foretel ye, when firſt I met with his title, that the epithet of modeſt there was a certain red portending ſign, that he meant ere long to be moſt tempeſtuouſly bold and ſhameleſs? Nevertheleſs, "he dares not ſay but there may be hid in his nature as much venomous atheiſm and profanation, as he thinks hath broke out at his adverſary's lips; but he hath not the ſore running upon him," as he would intimate. I have.

Now

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Now trust me not, readers, if I be not already weary of plucking and footing this sea-gull, so open he lies to strokes, and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himself. For if the sore be running upon me, in all judgment I have escaped the disease; but he who hath as much hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confessed, and cannot expel it, because he is dull, (for venomous atheism were no treasure to be kept within him else,) let him take the part he hath chosen, which must needs follow, to swell and burst with his own inward venom.

## SECT. I.

But mark, readers, there is a kind of justice observed among them that do evil, but this man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abused the good name of his adversary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or, as I am told, father and son, yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, whenas he himself hath already taken the utmost farthing. "Violence hath been done," says he, "to the person of a holy and religious prelate." To which, something in effect to what St. Paul answered of Ananias, I answer, "I wist not, brethren, that he was a holy and religious prelate;" for evil is written of those who would be prelates. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or phylactery either of holy or prelate, it were no sin to serve him as Longchamp bishop of Ely was served in his disguise at Dover: he hath begun the measure nameless, and when he pleases we may all appear as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I find him principled. For neither must prelate or archprelate hope to exempt himself from being reckoned as one of the vulgar, which is for him only to hope whom true wisdom and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalms, that he who is in honour and understandeth not, is as the beasts that perish. And now first "the manner of handling that cause," which I undertook, he thinks is suspicious, as if



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the wiſeſt, and the beſt words were not ever to ſome or other ſuſpicious. But where is the offence, the diſagreement from chriſtian meekneſs, or the precept of Solomon in anſwering folly? When the Remonſtrant talks of froth and ſcum, I tell him there is none, and bid him ſpare his ladle: when he brings in the meſs with keal, beef, and breweſs, what ſtomach in England could forbear to call for flanks and briſkets? Capon and white broth having been likely ſometimes in the ſame room with Chriſt and his apoſtles, why does it trouble him, that it ſhould be now in the ſame leaf, eſpecially where the diſcourſe is not continued, but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to ſay grace, doth he not then name holieſt names over the ſteam of coſtlieſt ſuperfluities? Does he judge it fooliſh or diſhoneſt, to write that among religious things, which, when he talks of religious things, he can devoutly chew? Is he afraid to name Chriſt where thoſe things are written in the ſame leaf, whom he fears not to name while the ſame things are in his mouth? Doth not Chriſt himſelf teach the higheſt things by the ſimilitude of old bottles and patched clothes? Doth he not illuſtrate beſt things by things moſt evil? His own coming to be as a thief in the night, and the righteous man's wiſdom to that of an unjuſt ſteward? He might therefore have done better to have kept in his canting beggars, and heathen altar, to ſacrifice his threadbare criticiſm of Bomolochus to an unſeaſonable goddeſs fit for him called Importunity, and have reſerved his greek derivation till he lecture to his freſh men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted, which may farther ſatisfy any conſcionable man, who, notwithſtanding what I could explain before the animadverſions, remains yet unſatisfied concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter, whom it pinches, utterly diſapproves; I ſhall aſſay once again, and perhaps with more ſucceſs. If therefore the queſtion were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation or ſcorn upon an object that merits it, were among the apteſt ideas of ſpeech to be allowed, it were my work, and that an eaſy one, to make it clear both by the rules of beſt

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beſt rhetoricians, and the famouſeſt examples of the greek and roman orations. But ſince the religion of it is diſputed, and not the art, I ſhall make uſe only of ſuch reaſons and authorities, as religion cannot except againſt. It will be harder to gainſay, than for me to evince, that in the teaching of men diverſely tempered, different ways are to be tried. The Baptiſt, we know, was a ſtrict man, remarkable for auſterity and ſet order of life. Our Saviour, who had all gifts in him, was Lord to expreſs his indoctrinating power in what ſort him beſt ſeemed; ſometimes by a mild and familiar converſe; ſometimes with plain and impartial homeſpeaking, regardleſs of thoſe whom the auditors might think he ſhould have had in more reſpect; otherwhile, with bitter and ireful rebukes, if not teaching, yet leaving excuſeleſs thoſe his wilful impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his church; ſome to be ſevere and ever of a ſad gravity, that they may win ſuch, and check ſometimes thoſe who be of nature overconfident and jocund; others were ſent more cheerful, free, and ſtill as it were at large, in the midſt of an untreſpaſſing honeſty; that they who are ſo tempered, may have by whom they might be drawn to ſalvation, and they who are too ſcrupulous, and dejected of ſpirit, might be often ſtrengthened with wiſe conſolations and revivings: no man being forced wholly to diſſolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the ſanguine to empty out all his ſociable livelineſs, the choleric to expel quite the unſinning predominance of his anger; but that each radical humour and paſſion, wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every man's peculiar gifts and virtues. Some alſo were indued with a ſtaid moderation and ſoundneſs of argument, to teach and convince the rational and ſoberminded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient courſe of teaching, for in times of oppoſition, when either againſt new hereſies ariſing, or old corruptions to be reformed, this cool unpaſſionate mildneſs of poſitive wiſdom is not enough to damp and aſtoniſh the proud reſiſtance of carnal and falſe doctors, then (that I may have leave to



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ſoar awhile as the poets uſe) Zeal, whoſe ſubſtance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, aſcends his fiery chariot drawn with two blazing meteors, figured like beaſts, but of a higher breed than any the zodiac yields, reſembling two of thoſe four which Ezekiel and St. John ſaw, the one viſaged like a lion, to expreſs power, high authority, and indignation; the other of countenance like a man, to caſt deriſion and ſcorn upon perverſe and fraudulent ſeducers: with theſe the invincible warrior, Zeal, ſhaking looſely the ſlack reins, drives over the heads of ſcarlet prelates, and ſuch as are inſolent to maintain traditions, bruiſing their ſtiff necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true prophets of old combat with the falſe; thus Chriſt himſelf, the fountain of meekneſs, found acrimony enough to be ſtill galling and vexing the prelatical phariſees. But ye will ſay, theſe had immediate warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I ſay, ſo much the plainer is it proved, that there may be a ſanctified bitterneſs againſt the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inſpiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other virtue, of moral and general obſervation, the example of Luther may ſtand for all, whom God made choice of before others to be of higheſt eminence and power in reforming the church; who, not of revelation, but of judgment, writ ſo vehemently againſt the chief defenders of old untruths in the romiſh church, that his own friends and favourers were many times offended with the fierceneſs of his ſpirit; yet he being cited before Charles the Fifth to anſwer for his books, and having divided them into three ſorts, whereof one was of thoſe which he had ſharply written, refuſed, though upon deliberation given him, to retract or unſay any word therein, as we may read in Sleidan. Yea, he defends his eagerneſs, as being "of an ardent ſpirit, and one who could not write a dull ſtyle:" and affirmed, "he thought it God's will, to have the inventions of men thus laid open, ſeeing that matters quietly handled were quickly forgot." And herewithal how uſeful and available God hath made this tart rhetoric in the church's cauſe, he often found by his own experience. For when he betook himſelf to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he

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he reaped nothing but contempt both from Cajetan and Erasmus, from Cocleus, from Ecchius, and others; insomuch that blaming his friends, who had so counselled him, he resolved never to run into the like errour: if at other times he seem to excuse his vehemence, as more than what was meet, I have not examined through his works, to know how far he gave way to his own fervent mind; it shall suffice me to look to mine own. And this I shall easily aver, though it may seem a hard saying, that the spirit of God, who is purity itself, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civil at other times to be spoken. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of Zimri and Cosbi, done by Phineas in the height of zeal, related, as the rabbins expound, not without an obscene word; we may find in Deuteronomy and three of the prophets, where God, denouncing bitterly the punishments of idolaters, tells them in a term immodest to be uttered in cool blood, that their wives shall be defiled openly. But these, they will say, were honest words in that age when they were spoken. Which is more than any rabbin can prove; and certainly had God been so minded, he could have picked such words as should never have come into abuse. What will they say to this? David going against Nabal, in the very same breath when he had just before named the name of God, he vows not "to leave any alive of Nabal's house that pisseth against the wall." But this was unadvisedly spoken, you will answer, and set down to aggravate his infirmity. Turn then to the first of Kings, where God himself uses the phrase, "I will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall." Which had it been an unseemly speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that Jonathan or Onkelos the targumists were of cleaner language than he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, "I will cut off all who are at years of discretion," that is to say, so much discretion as to hide nakedness. Whereas God, who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plain word might have easily been forborn: which

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which the masoreths and rabbinical scholiasts, not well attending, have often used to blur the margent with Keri instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insulse rule out of their Talmud, "That all words which in the law are written obscenely, must be changed to more civil words:" fools, who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad hath leave and authority ofttimes to utter such words and phrases, as in common talk were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the historian speaks, "that all those things for which men plough, build, or sail, obey virtue," but that all words, and whatsoever may be spoken, shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter; I shall return him in short, that laughter being one way of answering "a fool according to his folly," teaches two sorts of persons, first, the fool himself "not to be wise in his own conceit," as Solomon affirms; which is certainly a great document to make an unwise man know himself. Next, it teacheth the hearers, in as much as scorn is one of those punishments, which belong to men carnally wise, which is oft in scripture declared; for when such are punished, "the simple are thereby made wise," if Solomon's rule be true. And I would ask, to what end Eliah mocked the false prophets? was it to show his wit, or to fulfil his humour? Doubtless we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end, in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poor misled people. And we may frequently read, that many of the martyrs in the midst of their troubles were not sparing, to deride and scoff their superstitious persecutors. Now may the confutant advise again with sir Francis Bacon, whether Eliah and the martyrs did well to turn religion into a comedy or satire; "to rip up the wounds of idolatry and superstition with a laughing countenance:" so that for pious gravity the author here is matched and overmatched, and for wit and morality in one that follows:

"——laughing

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" ——laughing to teach the truth
What hinders? as ſome teachers give to boys
Junkets and knacks that they may learn apace."

Thus Flaccus in his firſt ſatire, and his tenth:

" ——Jeſting decides great things
Stronglier and better oft than earneſt can."

I could urge the ſame out of Cicero and Seneca, but he may content him with this. And henceforward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds and objects of laughter and vehement reproof, as he hath known hitherto how to deſerve them both. But leſt ſome may haply think, or thus expoſtulate with me after this debatement, who made you the buſy almoner to deal about this dole of laughter and reprehenſion, which no man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that man I ſhould anſwer much after this ſort: that I, friend objecter, having read of heathen philoſophers, ſome to have taught, that whoſoever would but uſe his ear to liſten, might hear the voice of his guiding genius ever before him, calling, and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the ſtoics, to account reaſon, which they call the Hegemonicon, to be the common Mercury conducting without errour thoſe that give themſelves obediently to be led accordingly: having read this, I could not eſteem ſo poorly of the faith which I profeſs, that God had left nothing to thoſe who had forſaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witneſs and warrant of what they have to do, as that they ſhould need to meaſure themſelves by other men's meaſures, how to give ſcope or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the moſt at a ſtand, the moſt uncertain and accidental wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the queſtion ere while moved, who is he that ſpends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproof ſo liberally upon ſuch men as the prelates, may return with a more juſt demand, who he is not of place and knowledge never ſo mean, under whoſe con-



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tempt and jerk theſe men are not deſervedly fallen? Neither can religion receive any wound by diſgrace thrown upon the prelates, ſince religion and they ſurely were never in ſuch amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their ſtripes muſt heal her. I might alſo tell them, what Electra in Sophocles, a wiſe virgin, anſwered her wicked mother, who thought herſelf too violently reproved by her the daughter:

> 'Tis you that ſay it, not I; you do the deeds,
> And your ungodly deeds find me the words.

If therefore the Remonſtrant complain of libels, it is becauſe he feels them to be right aimed. For I aſk again, as before in the animadverſions, how long is it ſince he hath diſreliſhed libels? We never heard the leaſt mutter of his voice againſt them while they flew abroad without control or check, defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but Lyſimachus Nicanor, and "that he miſliked and cenſured." No more but of one can the Remonſtrant remember? What if I put him in mind of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonſtrant in many likelihoods may be thought the author? Did he never ſee a pamphlet intitled after his own faſhion, "A Survey of that fooliſh, ſeditious, ſcandalous, prophane Libel, the Proteſtation proteſted?" The child doth not more expreſsly refigure the viſage of his father, than that book reſembles the ſtyle of the Remonſtrant, in thoſe idioms of ſpeech, wherein he ſeems moſt to delight: and in the ſevententh page three lines together are taken out of the Remonſtrance word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrows from himſelf. Whoever it be, he may as juſtly be ſaid to have libelled, as he againſt whom he writes: there ye ſhall find another man than is here made ſhow of, there he bites as faſt as this whines. "Vinegar in the ink" is there "the antidote of vipers." Laughing in a religious controverſy is there "a thrifty phyſic to expel his melancholy." In the mean time the teſtimony of ſir Francis Bacon was not miſalleged, complaining that libels on the biſhops part were

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were uttered openly; and if he hoped the prelates had no intelligence with the libellers, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion. But had he contradicted himself, how could I assoil him here, more than a little before, where I know not how, by entangling himself, he leaves an aspersion upon Job, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge? For having affirmed that "there is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest," presently he brings the example of Job, "glancing at conceits of mirth, when he sat among the people with the gravity of a judge upon him." If jest and earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser than Job, for "he smiled, and they believed him not." To defend libels, which is that whereof I am next accused, was far from my purpose. I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against myself. The sum of what I said was, that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the magistrates are not fully resolved; and both sides have equal liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the prelates bore sway, in whose time the books of some men were confuted, when they who should have answered were in close prison, denied the use of pen or paper. And the divine right of episcopacy was then valiantly asserted, when he who would have been respondent must have bethought himself withal how he could refute the Clink or the Gatehouse. If now therefore they be pursued with bad words, who persecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult rather than to increase it; whenas anger thus freely vented spends itself ere it break out into action, though Machiavel, whom he cites, or any other Machiavelian priest think the contrary.

## SECT. III.

Now readers, I bring ye to his third section; wherein very cautiously and no more than needs, lest I should take him for some chaplain at hand, some squire of the body to his prelate, one that serves not at the altar only, but at the court cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty



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model of himſelf; and ſobs me out half a dozen phthiſical mottoes wherever he had them, hopping ſhort in the meaſure of convulſion-fits; in which labour the agony of his wit having eſcaped narrowly, inſtead of wellſized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumb-ring poſies. "He has a fortune therefore good, becauſe he is content with it." This is a piece of ſapience not worth the brain of a fruit trencher; as if content were the meaſure of what is good or bad in the gift of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a good fortune, becauſe he may be ofttimes content with it for many reaſons which have no affinity with virtue, as love of eaſe, want of ſpirit to uſe more, and the like. "And therefore content," he ſays, "becauſe it neither goes before, nor comes behind his merit." Belike then if his fortune ſhould go before his merit, he would not be content, but reſign, if we believe him, which I do the leſs, becauſe he implies, that if it came behind his merit, he would be content as little. Whereas if a wiſe man's content ſhould depend upon ſuch a therefore, becauſe his fortune came not behind his merit, how many wiſe men could have content in this world? In his next pithy ſymbol I dare not board him, for he paſſes all the ſeven wiſe maſters of Greece, attributing to himſelf that which on my life Solomon durſt not: "to have affections ſo equally tempered, that they neither too haſtily adhere to the truth before it be fully examined, nor too lazily afterward." Which, unleſs he only were exempted out of the corrupt maſs of Adam, born without ſin original, and living without actual, is impoſſible. Had Solomon (for it behoves me to inſtance in the wiſeſt, dealing with ſuch a tranſcendant ſage as this) had Solomon affections ſo equally tempered, as "not adhering too lazily to the truth," when God warned him of his halting in idolatry? do we read that he repented haſtily? did not his affections lead him haſtily from an examined truth, how much more would they lead him ſlowly to it? Yet this man, beyond a ſtoic apathy, ſees truth as in a rapture, and cleaves to it; not as through the dim glaſs of his affections, which, in this frail manſion of fleſh, are ever unequally tempered, puſhing forward to errour, and keeping back from truth

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ofttimes

oftimes the beſt of men. But how far this boaſter is from knowing himſelf, let his preface ſpeak. Something I thought it was that made him ſo quickſighted to gather ſuch ſtrange things out of the animadverſions, whereof the leaſt conception could not be drawn from thence, of "ſuburb-ſinks," ſometimes "out of wit and clothes," ſometimes "in new ſerge, drinking ſack, and ſwearing;" now I know it was this equal temper of his affections, that gave him to ſee clearer than any fennel-rubbed ſerpent. Laſtly, he has reſolved "that neither perſon nor cauſe ſhall improper him." I may miſtake his meaning, for the word ye hear is "improper." But whether if not a perſon, yet a good parſonage or impropriation bought out for him, would not "improper" him, becauſe there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a canoniſt to reſolve.

SECT. IV.

And thus ends this ſection, or rather diſſection, of himſelf, ſhort ye will ſay both in breadth and extent, as in our own praiſes it ought to be, unleſs wherein a good name hath been wrongfully attainted. Right; but if ye look at what he aſcribes to himſelf, "that temper of his affections," which cannot any where be but in Paradiſe, all the judicious panegyrics in any language extant are not half ſo prolix. And that well appears in his next removal. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this deſcription of himſelf, and what with adventuring preſently to ſtand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margin, which is the ſluice moſt commonly that feeds the drought of his text, he comes ſo lazily on in a ſimile, with his "armfull of weeds," and demeans himſelf in the dull expreſſion ſo like a dough-kneaded thing, that he has not ſpirit enough left him ſo far to look to his ſyntax, as to avoid nonſenſe. For it muſt be underſtood there that the ſtranger, and not he who brings the bundle, would be deceived in cenſuring the field, which this hipſhot grammarian cannot ſet into right frame of conſtruction, neither here in the ſimilitude, nor in the following reddition thereof; which being to this

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purpoſe,

purpose, that "the faults of the best picked out, and presented in gross, seem monstrous, this," saith he, "you have done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults of others;" as if to pick out his own faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the same thing. To answer therefore how I have culled out the evil actions of the Remonstrant from his virtues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveyance of his nonsense, losing that for which he brought his parable. But what of other men's faults I have pinned upon his sleeve, let him show. For whether he were the man who termed the martyrs Foxian confessors, it matters not; he that shall step up before others to defend a church-government, which wants almost no circumstance, but only a name, to be a plain popedom, a government which changes the fatherly and ever-teaching discipline of Christ into that lordly and uninstructing jurisdiction, which properly makes the pope Antichrist, makes himself an accessory to all the evil committed by those, who are armed to do mischief by that undue government; which they, by their wicked deeds, do, with a kind of passive and unwitting obedience to God, destroy; but he, by plausible words and traditions against the scripture, obstinately seeks to maintain. They, by their own wickedness ruining their own unjust authority, make room for good to succeed; but he, by a show of good upholding the evil which in them undoes itself, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an ensuing good, and hasten a remedy against themselves; and his seeming good tends to reinforce their self-punishing crimes and his own, by doing his best to delay all redress. Shall not all the mischief which other men do be laid to his charge, if they do it by that unchurch-like power which he defends? Christ saith, "he that is not with me, is against me; and he that gathers not with me, scatters." In what degree of enmity to Christ shall we place that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more against him; and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? Shall it avail that man to say he honours the martyrs memory, and treads in their steps? No; the pharisees confessed as much of the holy prophets.

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prophets. Let him, and such as he, when they are in their best actions, even at their prayers, look to hear that which the pharisees heard from John the Baptist when they least expected, when they rather looked for praise from him; "generation of vipers, who hath warned ye to flee from the wrath to come?" Now that ye have started back from the purity of scripture, which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions; now that ye have either troubled or leavened the people of God, and the doctrine of the gospel with scandalous ceremonies and mass-borrowed liturgies, do ye turn the use of that truth which ye profess, to countenance that falsehood which ye gain by? We also reverence the martyrs, but rely only upon the scriptures. And why we ought not to rely upon the martyrs, I shall be content with such reasons as my confuter himself affords me; who is, I must needs say for him, in that point as officious an adversary as I would wish to any man. For, "first," saith he, "there may be a martyr in a wrong cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best; sometimes in a good cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God. Other whiles they that story of them out of blind zeal or malice, may write many things of them untruly." If this be so, as ye hear his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the martyrs as "patrons of his cause," whenas any of those who are alleged for the approvers of our liturgy or prelaty, might have been, though not in a wrong cause, martyrs? Yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misreported or misunderstood in those their opinions, God only knows. The testimony of what we believe in religion must be such as the conscience may rest on to be infallible and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.

## SECT. V.

His fifth section finds itself aggrieved that the Remonstrant should be taxed with the illegal proceeding of the high commission, and oath ex officio: and first, "whether they were illegal or no, it is more than he knows."



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See this malevolent fox! that tyranny which the whole kingdom cried out againſt as ſtung with adders and ſcorpions, that tyranny which the parliament, in compaſſion of the church and commonwealth, hath diſſolved and fetched up by the roots, for which it hath received the public thanks and bleſſings of thouſands; this obſcure thorn eater of malice and detraction as well as of quodlibets and ſophiſms, knows not whether it were illegal or not. Evil, evil, would be your reward, ye worthies of the parliament, if this ſophiſter and his accomplices had the cenſuring or the ſounding forth of your labours. And that the Remonſtrant cannot waſh his hands of all the cruelties exerciſed by the prelates, is paſt doubting. They ſcourged the confeſſors of the goſpel, and he held the ſcourgers garments. They executed their rage; and he, if he did nothing elſe, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies which were the cauſe of it; does he think to be counted guiltleſs?

## SECT. VI.

In the following ſection I muſt foretel ye, readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the baiting of a ſatire. And if the work ſeem more trivial or boiſterous than for this diſcourſe, let the Remonſtrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word paſs, but he muſt make all this blaze of it. I had ſaid, that becauſe the Remonſtrant was ſo much offended with thoſe who were tart againſt the prelates, ſure he loved toothleſs ſatires, which I took were as improper as a toothed fleekſtone. This champion from behind the arras cries out, that thoſe toothleſs ſatires were of the Remonſtrant's making; and arms himſelf here tooth and nail, and horn to boot, to ſupply the want of teeth, or rather of gums in the ſatires. And for an onſet tells me, that the ſimile of a fleekſtone "ſhows I can be as bold with a prelate as familiar with a laundreſs." But does it not argue rather the laſcivious promptneſs of his own fancy, who, from the harmleſs mention of a fleekſtone, could neigh out the remembrance of his old converſation among the viraginian trollops? For me, if he move me,

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I ſhall claim his own oath, the oath ex officio againſt any prieſt or prelate in the kingdom, to have ever as much hated ſuch pranks as the beſt and chaſteſt of them all. That exception which I made againſt toothleſs ſatires, the confuter hopes I had from the ſatiriſt, but is far deceived: neither have I ever read the hobbling diſtich which he means. For this good hap I had from a careful education, to be inured and ſeaſoned betimes with the beſt and eleganteſt authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an ear that could meaſure a juſt cadence, and ſcan without articulating: rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling verſifier. Whence lighting upon this title of "toothleſs ſatires," I will not conceal ye what I thought, readers, that ſure this muſt be ſome ſucking ſatire, who might have done better to have uſed his coral, and made an end of breeding, ere he took upon him to wield a ſatire's whip. But when I heard him talk of "ſcowering the ruſty ſwords of elviſh knights," do not blame me, if I changed my thought, and concluded him ſome deſperate cutler. But why "his ſcornful muſe could never abide with tragic ſhoes her ancles for to hide," the pace of the verſe told me that her mawkin knuckles were never ſhapen to that royal buſkin. And turning by chance to the ſixth ſatire of his ſecond book, I was confirmed; where having begun loftily "in Heaven's univerſal alphabet," he falls down to that wretched poorneſs and frigidity, as to talk of "Bridge ſtreet in Heaven, and the Oſtler of Heaven," and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certain he was in the frozen zone miſerably benummed) with thoughts lower than any beadle betakes him to whip the ſign-poſts of Cambridge alehouſes, the ordinary ſubject of freſhmen's tales, and in a ſtrain as pitiful. Which for him who would be counted the firſt engliſh ſatire, to abaſe himſelf to, who might have learned better among the latin and italian ſatiriſts, and in our own tongue from the "Viſion and Creed of Pierce Plowman," beſides others before him, manifeſted a preſumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamined ſhoulders. For a ſatire as it was born out of a tragedy, ſo ought to reſemble



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his parentage, to ſtrike high, and adventure dangerouſly at the moſt eminent vices among the greateſt perſons, and not to creep into every blind taphouſe, that fears a conſtable more than a ſatire. But that ſuch a poem ſhould be toothleſs, I ſtill affirm it to be a bull, taking away the eſſence of that which it calls itſelf. For if it bite neither the perſons nor the vices, how is it a ſatire? And if it bite either, how is it toothleſs? So that toothleſs ſatires are as much as if he had ſaid toothleſs teeth. What we ſhould do therefore with this learned comment upon teeth and horns, which hath brought this confutant into his pedantic kingdom of Cornucopia, to reward him for gloſſing upon horns even to the hebrew root, I know not; unleſs we ſhould commend him to be lecturer in Eaſt-cheap upon St. Luke's day, when they ſend their tribute to that famous haven by Deptford. But we are not like to eſcape him ſo. For now the worm of criticiſm works in him, he will tell us the derivation of "german rutters, of meat, and of ink," which doubtleſs, rightly applied with ſome gall in it, may prove good to heal this tetter of pedagogiſm that beſpreads him, with ſuch a teneſmus of originating, that if he be an arminian, and deny original ſin, all the etymologies of his book ſhall witneſs, that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

## SECT. VII.

His ſeventh ſection labours to cavil out the flaws which were found in the Remonſtrant's logic; who having laid down for a general propoſition, that "civil polity is variable and arbitrary," from whence was inferred logically upon him, that he had concluded the polity of England to be arbitrary, for general includes particular; here his defendant is not aſhamed to confeſs, that the Remonſtrant's propoſition was ſophiſtical by a fallacy called ad plures interrogationes: which ſounds to me ſomewhat ſtrange, that a Remonſtrant of that pretended ſincerity ſhould bring deceitful and double-dealing propoſitions to the parliament. The truth is, he had let ſlip a ſhrewd paſſage ere he was aware, not thinking

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the concluſion would turn upon him with ſuch a terrible edge, and not knowing how to wind out of the briars, he, or his ſubſtitute, ſeems more willing to lay the integrity of his logic to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his own major, where none is, than to be forced to uphold the inference. For that diſtinction of poſſible, and lawful, is ridiculous to be ſought for in that propoſition; no man doubting that it is poſſible to change the form of civil polity; and that it is held lawful by that major, the word "arbitrary" implies. Nor will this help him, to deny that it is arbitrary "at any time, or by any undertakers," (which are the limitations invented by him ſince) for when it ſtands as he will have it now by his ſecond edition, "civil polity is variable, but not at any time, or by any undertakers," it will reſult upon him, belike then at ſome time, and by ſome undertakers it may. And ſo he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with ſomething in ſir Francis Bacon; then he takes heart again, and holds his major at large. But by and by, as ſoon as the ſhadow of ſir Francis hath left him, he falls off again warping, and warping, till he come to contradict himſelf in diameter; and denies flatly that it is "either variable or arbitrary, being once ſettled." Which third ſhift is no leſs a piece of laughter: for, before the polity was ſettled, how could it be variable, whenas it was no polity at all, but either an anarchy or a tyranny? That limitation therefore, of after-ſettling, is a mere tautology. So that, in fine, his former aſſertion is now recanted, and "civil polity is neither variable nor arbitrary."

### SECT. VIII.

Whatever elſe may perſuade me, that this confutation was not made without ſome aſſiſtance or advice of the Remonſtrant, yet in this eighth ſection that his hand was not greatly intermixed, I can eaſily believe. For it begins with this ſurmiſe, that "not having to accuſe the Remonſtrant to the king, I do it to the parliament;" which conceit of the man clearly ſhoves the king out of the parliament, and makes two bodies of one. Whereas the Remonſtrant, in the epiſtle to his laſt "Short Anſwer,"



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gives his ſuppoſal, "that they cannot be ſevered in the rights of their ſeveral concernments." Mark, readers, if they cannot be ſevered in what is ſeveral (which caſts a bull's eye to go yoke with the toothleſs ſatires) how ſhould they be ſevered in their common concernments, the welfare of the land, by due accuſation of ſuch as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonſtrant to be one? And therefore if I accuſed him to the parliament, it was the ſame as to accuſe him to the king. Next he caſts it into the diſh of I know not whom, "that they flatter ſome of the houſe, and libel others whoſe conſciences made them vote contrary to ſome proceedings." Thoſe ſome proceedings can be underſtood of nothing elſe but the deputy's execution. And can this private concoctor of malecontent, at the very inſtant when he pretends to extol the parliament, afford thus to blur over, rather than to mention, that public triumph of their juſtice and conſtancy, ſo high, ſo glorious, ſo reviving to the fainted commonwealth, with ſuch a ſuſpicious and murmuring expreſſion as to call it ſome proceedings? And yet immediately he falls to gloſſing, as if he were the only man that rejoiced at theſe times. But I ſhall diſcover to ye, readers, that this his praiſing of them is as full of nonſenſe and ſcholaſtic ſoppery, as his meaning he himſelf diſcovers to be full of cloſe malignity. His firſt encomium is, "that the ſun looks not upon a braver, nobler convocation than is that of king, peers, and commons." One thing I beg of ye, readers, as ye bear any zeal to learning, to elegance, and that which is called decorum in the writing of praiſe, eſpecially on ſuch a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloiſtered lubber according to his deſerts. Where didſt thou learn to be ſo aguiſh, ſo puſillanimous, thou loſel bachelor of art, as againſt all cuſtom and uſe of ſpeech to term the high and ſovereign court of parliament, a convocation? Was this the flower of all the ſynonimas and voluminous papers, whoſe beſt folios are predeſtined to no better end than to make windingſheets in lent for pilchers? Couldſt thou preſume thus with one word's ſpeaking to clap as it were under hatches the king with all his peers and gentry into ſquare caps and

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monkiſh hoods? How well doſt thou now appear to be a chip of the old block, that could find "Bridge ſtreet and alehouſes in Heaven?" Why didſt thou not, to be his perfect imitator, liken the king to the vicechancellor, and the lords, to the doctors? Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable reſidence of juſtice and liberty, by ſuch an odious name as now a "convocation" is become, which would be nothing injured, though it were ſtyled the houſe of bondage, whereout ſo many cruel taſks, ſo many unjuſt burdens have been laden upon the bruiſed conſciences of ſo many chriſtians throughout the land. But which of thoſe worthy deeds, whereof we and our poſterity muſt confeſs this parliament to have done ſo many and ſo noble, which of thoſe memorable acts comes firſt into his praiſes? None of all, not one. What will he then praiſe them for? Not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chaſtiſe his lewd and inſolent compriefts: not that they have deferred all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the reſt of his oratory that follows, ſo juſt is it in the language of ſtall epiſtle nonſenſe, that if he who made it can underſtand it, I deny not but that he may deſerve for his pains a caſt doublet. When a man would look he ſhould vent ſomething of his own, as ever in a ſet ſpeech the manner is with him that knows any thing, he, leſt we ſhould not take notice enough of his barren ſtupidity, declares it by alphabet, and refers us to odd remnants in his topics. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margin, but he muſt cut out large docks and creeks into his text, to unlade the fooliſh frigate of his unſeaſonable authorities, not therewith to praiſe the parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What elſe there is, he jumbles together in ſuch a loſt conſtruction, as no man, either lettered or unlettered, will be able to piece up. I ſhall ſpare to tranſcribe him, but if I do him wrong let me be ſo dealt with.

Now although it be a digreſſion from the enſuing matter, yet becauſe it ſhall not be ſaid I am apter to blame others than to make trial myſelf, and that I may after this harſh diſcord touch upon a ſmoother ſtring awhile



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awhile to entertain myſelf and him that liſt, with ſome more pleaſing fit, and not the leaſt to teſtify the gratitude which I owe to thoſe public benefactors of their country, for the ſhare I enjoy in the common peace and good by their inceſſant labours; I ſhall be ſo troubleſome to this declaimer for once, as to ſhow him what he might have better ſaid. in their praiſe: wherein I muſt mention only ſome few things of many, for more than that to a digreſſion may not be granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be ſpoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt ſomething more anſwerable to their great merits, I perceive how hopeleſs it will be to reach the height of their praiſes at the accompliſhment of that expectation that waits upon their noble deeds, the unfiniſhing whereof already ſurpaſſes what others before them have left enacted with their utmoſt performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertain opinion, nor ſudden counſels, but from mature wiſdom, deliberate virtue, and dear affection to the public good; I ſhall begin at that which made them likelieſt in the eyes of good men to effect thoſe things for the recovery of decayed religion and the commonwealth, which they who were beſt minded had long wiſhed for, but few, as the times then were deſperate, had the courage to hope for. Firſt, therefore, the moſt of them being either of ancient and high nobility, or at leaſt of known and well reputed anceſtry, which is a great advantage towards virtue one way, but in reſpect of wealth, eaſe, and flattery, which accompany a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way; the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthieſt of their progenitors; and the evil which aſſaulted their younger years by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that uſual bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remiſs, through the ſtrength of an inbred goodneſs, and with the help of divine grace, that had marked them out for no mean purpoſes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for, being trained up in the knowledge of learning, and ſent to thoſe places which were intended

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intended to be the ſeed plots of piety and the liberal arts, but were become the nurſeries of ſuperſtition and empty ſpeculation, as they were proſperous againſt thoſe vices which grow upon youth out of idleneſs and ſuperfluity, ſo were they happy in working off the harms of their abuſed ſtudies and labours; correcting by the clearneſs of their own judgment the errours of their miſinſtruction, and were, as David was, wiſer than their teachers. And although their lot fell into ſuch times, and to be bred in ſuch places, where if they chanced to be taught any thing good or of their own accord had learnt it, they might ſee that preſently untaught them by the cuſtom and ill example of their elders; ſo far in all probability was their youth from being miſled by the ſingle power of example, as their riper years were known to be unmoved with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any diſcouragement and terrour which appeared often to thoſe that loved religion and their native liberty; which two things God hath inſeparably knit together, and hath diſcloſed to us, that they who ſeek to corrupt our religion, are the ſame that would enthral our civil liberty. Thus in the midſt of all diſadvantages and diſreſpects (ſome alſo at laſt not without impriſonment and open diſgraces in the cauſe of their country) having given proof of themſelves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue, than others under the holieſt precepts and beſt examples have been headſtrong and prone to vice; and having in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honeſty not oftener buckled in the conflict than given every oppoſition the foil; this moreover was added by favour from Heaven, as an ornament and happineſs to their virtue, that it ſhould be neither obſcure in the opinion of men, nor eclipſed for want of matter equal to illuſtrate itſelf; God and man conſenting in joint approbation to chooſe them out as worthieſt above others to be both the great reformers of the church, and the reſtorers of the commonwealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation which with the eyes and deſires of their country was fixed upon them; for no ſooner did the force of ſo much united excellence meet in one globe of brightneſs and efficacy, but encountering the dazzled reſiſtance of

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tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were ſtrong and ſubtle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatal block; with one ſtroke winning again our loſt liberties and charters, which our foreſathers after ſo many battles could ſcarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may ſo reſemble, with the ſecond life of tyranny (for ſhe was grown an ambiguous monſter, and to be ſlain in two ſhapes) guarded with ſuperſtition, which hath no ſmall power to captivate the minds of men otherwiſe moſt wiſe, they neither were taken with her mitred hypocriſy, nor terrified with the puſh of her beſtial horns, but breaking them, immediately forced her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoil; which repulſe only given to the prelates (that we may imagine how happy their removal would be) was the producement of ſuch glorious effects and conſequences in the church, that if I ſhould compare them with thoſe exploits of higheſt fame in poems and panegyrics of old, I am certain it would but diminiſh and impair their worth, who are now my argument; for thoſe ancient worthies delivered men from ſuch tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the mind be as free as it could; but theſe have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny, that offered violence and corruption even to the inward perſuaſion. They ſet at liberty nations and cities of men good and bad mixed together; but theſe opening the priſons and dungeons, called out of darkneſs and bonds the elect martyrs and witneſſes of their Redeemer. They reſtored the body to eaſe and wealth; but theſe, the oppreſſed conſcience to that freedom which is the chief prerogative of the goſpel; taking off thoſe cruel burdens impoſed not by neceſſity, as other tyrants are wont for the ſafeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the ſtrange wilfulneſs and wantonneſs of a needleſs and jolly perſecutor called Indifference. Laſtly, ſome of thoſe ancient deliverers have had immortal praiſes for preſerving their citizens from a famine of corn. But theſe, by this only repulſe of an unholy hierarchy, almoſt in a moment repleniſhed with ſaving knowledge their country nigh famiſhed for want of that which ſhould feed their ſouls. All this being done while two armies in the field ſtood gazing on, the one in reverence

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ence of ſuch nobleneſs quietly gave back and diſlodged; the other, ſpight of the unrulineſs, and doubted fidelity in ſome regiments, was either perſuaded or compelled to diſband and retire home. With ſuch a majeſty had their wiſdom begirt itſelf, that whereas others had levied war to ſubdue a nation that ſought for peace, they ſitting here in peace, could ſo many miles extend the force of their ſingle words, as to overawe the diſſolute ſtoutneſs of an armed power ſecretly ſtirred up and almoſt hired againſt them. And having by a ſolemn proteſtation vowed themſelves and the kingdom anew to God and his ſervice, and by a prudent foreſight above what their fathers thought on, prevented the diſſolution and fruſtrating of their deſigns by an untimely breaking up; notwithſtanding all the treaſonous plots againſt them, all the rumours either of rebellion or invaſion, they have not been yet brought to change their conſtant reſolution, ever to think fearleſsly of their own ſafeties, and hopefully of the commonwealth: which hath gained them ſuch an admiration from all good men, that now they hear it as their ordinary ſurname, to be ſaluted the fathers of their country, and ſit as gods among daily petitions and public thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth ſo little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that, with all gentle affability and courteous acceptance, they both receive and return that tribute of thanks which is tendered them; teſtifying their zeal and deſire to ſpend themſelves as it were piecemeal upon the grievances and wrongs of their diſtreſſed nation; inſomuch that the meaneſt artiſans and labourers, at other times alſo women, and often the younger ſort of ſervants aſſembling with their complaints, and that ſometimes in a leſs humble guiſe than for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meanneſs would be rejected, nor their ſimplicity contemned; nor yet their urgency diſtaſted either by the dignity, wiſdom, or moderation of that ſupreme ſenate; nor did they depart unſatisfied. And indeed, if we conſider the general concourſe of ſuppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and ſpeedy redreſs in what is poſſible, it will not ſeem much otherwiſe, than as if ſome divine commiſſion from Heaven were deſcended to take into hearing and

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and commiseration the long remediless afflictions of this kingdom; were it not that none more than themselves labour to remove and divert such thoughts, lest men should place too much confidence in their persons, still referring us and our prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of public fasts and supplications. Therefore the more they seek to humble themselves, the more does God, by manifest signs and testimonies, visibly honour their proceedings; and sets them as the mediators of this his covenant, which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing; rebellion rages in our Irish province, but, with miraculous and lossless victories of few against many, is daily discomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledge of God's inclining towards us, by the slackness of our needful aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God vouchsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious will, such acceptation have their prayers found with him, that to them he hath been pleased to make himself the agent, and immediate performer of their desires; dissolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out ways for them where no passage could be seen; as who is there so regardless of divine Providence, that from late occurrences will not confess? If therefore it be so high a grace when men are preferred to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himself condescends, and works with his own hands to fulfil the requests of men? Which I leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to human nature: not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious progress, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who seems to have thus covenanted with them; that if the will and the endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfecting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not feared, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great designs before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who is their confederate, who hath engaged his omnipotent arm to support and crown with success their faith, their fortitude, their just and magnanimous

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magnanimous actions, till he have brought to paſs all that expected good, which, his ſervants truſt, is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfect reformation of his church.

Thus far I have digreſſed, readers, from my former ſubject; but into ſuch a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightful than the roadway I was in. And how to break off ſuddenly into thoſe jarring notes which this confuter hath ſet me, I muſt be wary, unleſs I can provide againſt offending the ear, as ſome muſicians are wont ſkilfully to fall out of one key into another, without breach of harmony. By good luck therefore his ninth ſection is ſpent in mournful elegy, certain paſſionate ſoliloquies; and two whole pages of interrogatories that praiſe the Remonſtrant even to the ſonneting of "his freſh cheeks, quick eyes, round tongue, agil hand, and nimble invention."

In his tenth ſection he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes; "I am no biſhop," he ſays, "I was never born to it." Let me tell therefore this wizard, ſince he calculates ſo right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among thoſe, who nothing admire his idol a biſhopric; and hold that it wants ſo much to be a bleſſing, as that I rather deem it the mereſt, the falſeſt, the moſt unfortunate gift of fortune. And were the puniſhment and miſery of being a prelate biſhop terminated only in the perſon, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole dioceſe, if I would wiſh any thing in the bitterneſs of ſoul to mine enemy, I would wiſh him the biggeſt and fatteſt biſhopric. But he proceeds; and the familiar belike informs him, that "a rich widow, or a lecture, or both, would content me:" whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his art of divining than any gipſy. For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not been unexpenſive in learning, and voyaging about; ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him to lend me what he hath hitherto thought good, which is enough to ſerve me in all honeſt and liberal occaſions, and ſomething over beſides, I were unthankful to that higheſt bounty, if I ſhould make myſelf ſo poor, as

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as to ſolicit needily any ſuch kind of rich hopes as this fortuneteller dreams of. And that he may further learn how his aſtrology is wide all the houſes of Heaven in ſpelling marriages, I care not if I tell him thus much profeſſedly, though it be the loſing of my rich hopes, as he calls them, that I think with them who, both in prudence and elegance of ſpirit, would chooſe a virgin of mean fortunes honeſtly bred, before the wealthieſt widow. The fiend therefore, that told our Chaldean the contrary, was a lying fiend. His next venom he utters againſt a prayer, which he found in the Animadverſions, angry it ſeems to find any prayers but in the ſervice book; he diſlikes it, and I therefore like it the better. "It was theatrical," he ſays; and yet it conſiſted moſt of ſcripture language; it had no rubric to be ſung in an antic cope upon the ſtage of a high altar. "It was bigmouthed," he ſays; no marvel, if it were framed as the voice of three kingdoms; neither was it a prayer ſo much as a hymn in proſe, frequent both in the prophets, and in human authors; therefore the ſtyle was greater than for an ordinary prayer. "It was an aſtoniſhing prayer." I thank him for that confeſſion, ſo it was intended to aſtound and to aſtoniſh the guilty prelates; and this confuter confeſſes, that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which follows, he does not play the ſoothſayer, but the diabolic ſlanderer of prayers. "It was made," he ſays, "not ſo much to pleaſe God, or to benefit the weal public," (how dares the viper judge that?) "but to intimate," ſaith he, "your good abilities to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla." How hard is it when a man meets with a fool, to keep his tongue from folly! That were miſerable indeed to be a courtier of Maronilla, and withal of ſuch a hapleſs invention, as that no way ſhould be left me to preſent my meaning, but to make myſelf a canting probationer of oriſons. The Remonſtrant, when he was as young as I, could

> "Teach each hollow grove to ſound his love,
> Wearying echo with one changeleſs word."
>
> Toothleſs Satires.

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And ſo he well might, and all his auditory beſides with his "teach each."

> "Whether ſo me liſt my lovely thoughts to ſing,
> Come dance ye nimble dryads by my ſide,
> Whiles I report my fortunes or my loves."
>
> Toothleſs Satires.

Delicious! he had that whole bevy at command whether in morrice or at maypole; whilſt I by this figure-caſter muſt be imagined in ſuch diſtreſs as to ſue to Maronilla, and yet left ſo impoveriſhed of what to ſay, as to turn my liturgy into my lady's pſalter. Believe it, graduate, I am not altogether ſo ruſtic, and nothing ſo irreligious, but as far diſtant from a lecturer, as the mereſt laic, for any conſecrating hand of a prelate that ſhall ever touch me. Yet I ſhall not decline the more for that, to ſpeak my opinion in the controverſy next moved, "whether the people may be allowed for competent judges of a miniſter's ability." For how elſe can be fulfilled that which God hath promiſed, to pour out ſuch abundance of knowledge upon all ſorts of men in the times of the goſpel? How ſhould the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Chriſt and his apoſtles continually bid them do? How ſhould they "diſcern and beware of falſe prophets, and try every ſpirit," if they muſt be thought unfit to judge of the miniſter's abilities? The apoſtles ever laboured to perſuade the chriſtian flock, that they "were called in Chriſt to all perfectneſs of ſpiritual knowledge, and full aſſurance of underſtanding in the myſtery of God." But the non-reſident and plurality-gaping prelates, the gulfs and whirlpools of benefices, but the dry pits of all ſound doctrine, that they may the better preach what they liſt to their ſheep, are ſtill poſſeſſing them that they are ſheep indeed, without judgment, without underſtanding, "the very beaſts of mount Sinai," as this confuter calls them: which words of theirs may ſerve to condemn them out of their own mouths, and to ſhow the groſs contrarieties that are in their opinions: for while none think the people ſo void of knowledge as the prelates think them, none are ſo backward and malignant as they to beſtow knowledge upon them; both by ſuppreſſing the

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frequency

frequency of ſermons, and the printed explanations of the Engliſh Bible. No marvel if the people turn beaſts, when their teachers themſelves, as Iſaiah calls them, "are dumb and greedy dogs, that can never have enough, ignorant, blind, and cannot underſtand; who while they all look their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter," how many parts of the land are fed with windy ceremonies inſtead of ſincere milk; and while one prelate enjoys the nouriſhment and right of twenty miniſters, how many waſte places are left as dark as "Galilee of the gentiles, ſitting in the region and ſhadow of death," without preaching miniſter, without light. So little care they of beaſts to make them men, that by their ſorcerous doctrine of formalities, they take the way to transform them out of chriſtian men into judaizing beaſts. Had they but taught the land, or ſuffered it to be taught, as Chriſt would it ſhould have been in all plenteous diſpenſation of the word, then the poor mechanic might have ſo accuſtomed his ear to good teaching, as to have diſcerned between faithful teachers and falſe. But now, with a moſt inhuman cruelty, they who have put out the peoples eyes, reproach them of their blindneſs; juſt as the phariſees their true fathers were wont, who could not endure, that the people ſhould be thought competent judges of Chriſt's doctrine, although we know they judged far better than thoſe great rabbies: yet "this people," ſaid they, "that knows not the law is accurſed." We need not the authority of Pliny brought to tell us, the people cannot judge of a miniſter: yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a painter, or ſtatuary, but he who is an artiſt, that is, either in the practice or theory, which is often ſeparated from the practice, and judges learnedly without it; ſo none can judge of a chriſtian teacher, but he who hath either the practice, or the knowledge of chriſtian religion, though not ſo artfully digeſted in him. And who almoſt of the meaneſt chriſtians hath not heard the ſcriptures often read from his childhood, beſides ſo many ſermons and lectures more in number than any ſtudent hath heard in philoſophy, whereby he may eaſily attain to know when he is wiſely taught, and when weakly? whereof

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whereof three ways I remember are ſet down in ſcripture; the one is to read often that beſt of books written to this purpoſe, that not the wiſe only, but the ſimple and ignorant, may learn by them; the other way to know of a miniſter is, by the life he leads, whereof the meaneſt underſtanding may be apprehenſive. The laſt way to judge aright in this point is, when he who judges, lives a chriſtian life himſelf. Which of theſe three will the confuter affirm to exceed the capacity of a plain artizan? And what reaſon then is there left, wherefore he ſhould be denied his voice in the election of his miniſter, as not thought a competent diſcerner? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a metaphyſical fume, to think that "the mutinous rabble" (for ſo he calls the chriſtian congregation) "would be ſo miſtaken in a clerk of the univerſity," that were to be their miniſter. I doubt me thoſe clerks, that think ſo, are more miſtaken in themſelves; and what with truanting and debauchery, what with falſe grounds and the weakneſs of natural faculties in many of them (it being a maxim in ſome men to ſend the ſimpleſt of their ſons thither), perhaps there would be found among them as many unſolid and corrupted judgments both in doctrine and life, as in any other two corporations of like bigneſs. This is undoubted, that if any carpenter, ſmith, or weaver, were ſuch a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profeſſion, he would ſtarve for any cuſtom. And ſhould he exerciſe his manufacture as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art; and ſhould he miſtake his tools as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or ſpeak in a pure ſtyle; much leſs to diſtinguiſh the ideas, and various kinds of ſtyle; in Latin barbarous, and oft not without ſoleciſms, declaiming in rugged and miſcellaneous gear blown together by the four winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankneſs of Apuleius, Arnobius, or any modern fuſtianiſt, before the native Latiniſms of Cicero. In the Greek tongue moſt of them unlettered, or "unentered to any ſound proficiency in thoſe attic maſters of moral wiſdom and eloquence." In the Hebrew text, which is ſo neceſſary to be underſtood,



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except it be ſome few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumciſed. No leſs are they out of the way in philoſophy, peſtering their heads with the ſapleſs dotages of old Paris and Salamanca. And that which is the main point, in their ſermons affecting the comments and poſtils of friars and jeſuits, but ſcorning and ſlighting the reformed writers; inſomuch that the better ſort among them will confeſs it a rare matter to hear a true edifying ſermon in either of their great churches; and that ſuch as are moſt hummed and applauded there, would ſcarcely be ſuffered the ſecond hearing in a grave congregation of pious chriſtians. Is there cauſe why theſe men ſhould overwean, and be ſo queaſy of the rude multitude, leſt their deep worth ſhould be undervalued for want of fit umpires? No, my matriculated confutant, there will not want in any congregation of this iſland, that hath not been altogether famiſhed or wholly perverted with prelatiſh leaven; there will not want divers plain and ſolid men, that have learned by the experience of a good conſcience, what it is to be well taught, who will ſoon look through and through both the lofty nakedneſs of your latinizing barbarian, and the finical gooſery of your neat ſermon actor. And ſo I leave you and your fellow "ſtars;" as you term them, "of either horizon," meaning I ſuppoſe either hemiſphere, unleſs you will be ridiculous in your aſtronomy: for the rational horizon in heaven is but one, and the ſenſible horizons in earth are innumerable; ſo that your alluſion was as erroneous as your ſtars. But that you did well to prognoſticate them all at loweſt in the horizon; that is, either ſeeming bigger than they are through the miſt and vapour which they raiſe, or elſe ſinking and waſted to the ſnuff in their weſtern ſocket.

## SECT. XI.

His eleventh ſection intends I know not what, unleſs to clog us with the reſidue of his phlegmatic ſloth, diſcuſſing with a heavy pulſe the "expedience of ſet forms;" which no queſtion but to ſome, and for ſome time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be uſe-

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fully ſet forth by the church a common directory of public prayer, eſpecially in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. But that it ſhould therefore be enforced where both miniſter and people profeſs to have no need, but to be ſcandalized by it, that, I hope, every ſenſible chriſtian will deny: and the reaſons of ſuch denial the confuter himſelf, as his bounty ſtill is to his adverſary, will give us out of his affirmation. Firſt, ſaith he, "God in his providence hath choſen ſome to teach others, and pray for others, as miniſters and paſtors." Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath ſet apart to his miniſtry, are by him endued with an ability of prayer; becauſe their office is to pray for others, and not to be the lip-working deacons of other men's appointed words. Nor is it eaſily credible, that he who can preach well, ſhould be unable to pray well; whenas it is indeed the ſame ability to ſpeak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only by changing the mood, to ſpeak prayingly. In vain therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can find utterance to preach. And if prayer be the gift of the ſpirit, why do they admit thoſe to the miniſtry, who want a main gift of their function, and preſcribe gifted men to uſe that which is the remedy of another man's want; ſetting them their taſks to read, whom the ſpirit of God ſtands ready to aſſiſt in his ordinance with the gift of free conceptions? What if it be granted to the infirmity of ſome miniſters (though ſuch ſeem rather to be half miniſters) to help themſelves with a ſet form, ſhall it therefore be urged upon the plenteous graces of others? And let it be granted to ſome people while they are babes, in chriſtian gifts, were it not better to take it away ſoon after, as we do loitering books, and interlineary tranſlations from children; to ſtir up and exerciſe that portion of the ſpirit which is in them, and not impoſe it upon congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troubleſome and offenſive, refuſe it? Another reaſon which he brings for liturgy, is "the preſerving of order, unity, and piety;" and the ſame ſhall be my reaſon againſt liturgy. For I, readers, ſhall always be of this opinion, that obedience to the ſpirit of God,



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rather than to the fair ſeeming pretences of men, is the beſt and moſt dutiful order that a chriſtian can obſerve. If the ſpirit of God manifeſt the gift of prayer in his miniſter, what more ſeemly order in the congregation, than to go along with that man in our devouteſt affections? For him to abridge himſelf by reading, and to foreſtall himſelf in thoſe petitions, which he muſt either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the pulpit under a ſhow of order, is the greateſt diſorder. Nor is unity leſs broken, eſpecially by our liturgy, though this author would almoſt bring the communion of ſaints to a communion of liturgical words. For what other reformed church holds communion with us by our liturgy, and does not rather diſlike it? And among ourſelves, who knows it not to have been a perpetual cauſe of diſunion?

Laſtly, it hinders piety rather than ſets it forward, being more apt to weaken the ſpiritual faculties, if the people be not weaned from it in due time; as the daily pouring in of hot waters quenches the natural heat. For not only the body and the mind, but alſo the improvement of God's ſpirit, is quickened by uſing. Whereas they who will ever adhere to liturgy, bring themſelves in the end to ſuch a paſs by overmuch leaning, as to loſe even the legs of their devotion. Theſe inconveniencies and dangers follow the compelling of ſet forms: but that the toleration of the Engliſh liturgy now in uſe is more dangerous than the compelling of any other, which the reformed churches uſe, theſe reaſons following may evince. To contend that it is fantaſtical, if not ſenſeleſs in ſome places, were a copious argument, eſpecially in the Reſponſories. For ſuch alternations as are there uſed muſt be by ſeveral perſons; but the miniſter and the people cannot ſo ſever their intereſts, as to ſuſtain ſeveral perſons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he preſents. And if the people pray, he being ſilent, or they aſk any one thing, and he another, it either changes the property, making the prieſt the people, and the people the prieſt, by turns, or elſe makes two perſons and two bodies repreſentative where there ſhould be but one. Which, if it be nought elſe, muſt needs be a ſtrange

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quaintneſs in ordinary prayer. The like, or worſe, may be ſaid of the litany, wherein neither prieſt nor people ſpeak any intire ſenſe of themſelves throughout the whole, I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted ſtakes, cloſing up as it were the ſchiſm of a ſliced prayer, they pray not in vain, for by this means they keep life between them in a piece of gaſping ſenſe, and keep down the ſaucineſs of a continual rebounding nonſenſe. And hence it is, that as it hath been far from the imitation of any warranted prayer, ſo we all know it hath been obvious to be the pattern of many a jig. And he who hath but read in good books of devotion and no more, cannot be ſo either of ear or judgment unpractiſed to diſtinguiſh what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not, but will preſently perceive this liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of paſſion, or any height whereto the ſoul might ſoar upon the wings of zeal, deſtitute and barren; beſides errours, tautologies, impertinencies, as thoſe thanks in the woman's churching for her delivery from ſunburning and moonblaſting, as if ſhe had been travailing not in her bed, but in the deſerts of Arabia. So that while ſome men ceaſe not to admire the incomparable frame of our liturgy, I cannot but admire as faſt what they think is become of judgment and taſte in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable matter. But when we remember this our liturgy where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, ſtill ſerving to all the abominations of the antichriſtian temple, it may be wondered how we can demur whether it ſhould be done away or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in uſing it ſo long. It hath indeed been pretended to be more ancient than the maſs, but ſo little proved, that whereas other corrupt liturgies have had withal ſuch a ſeeming antiquity, as that their publiſhers have ventured to aſcribe them with their worſt corruptions either to St. Peter, St. James, St. Mark, or at leaſt to Chryſoſtom or Baſil, ours hath been never able to find either age or author allowable, on whom to father thoſe things therein which



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are leaſt offenſive, except the two creeds, for Te Deum has a ſmatch in it of Limbus Patrum: as if Chriſt had not "opened the kingdom of Heaven" before he had "overcome the ſharpneſs of death." So that having received it from the papal church as an original creature, for aught can be ſhown to the contrary, formed and faſhioned by workmaſters ill to be truſted, we may be aſſured that if God loathe the beſt of an idolater's prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer. This confuter himſelf confeſſes that a community of the ſame ſet form in prayers, is that which "makes church and church truly one;" we then uſing a liturgy far more like to the maſs book than to any proteſtant ſet form, by his own words muſt have more communion with the Romiſh church, than with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curſe and vengeance of their ſuperſtition, to whom we come ſo near in the ſame ſet form and dreſs of our devotion? Do we think to ſift the matter finer than we are ſure God in his jealouſy will, who deteſted both the gold and the ſpoil of idolatrous cities, and forbid the eating of things offered to idols? Are we ſtronger than he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not ſurely becauſe we think that prayers are no where to be had but at Rome? That were a foul ſcorn and indignity caſt upon all the reformed churches, and our own: if we imagine that all the godly miniſters of England are not able to newmould a better and more pious liturgy than this which was conceived and infanted by an idolatrous mother, how baſely were that to eſteem of God's ſpirit, and all the holy bleſſings and privileges of a true church above a falſe? Hark ye, prelates, is this your glorious mother of England, who, whenas Chriſt hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unleſs ſhe add thereto the teaching of Antichriſt? How can we believe ye would refuſe to take the ſtipend of Rome, when ye ſhame not to live upon the almsbaſket of her prayers? Will ye perſuade us, that ye can curſe Rome from your hearts, when none but Rome muſt teach ye to pray? Abraham diſdained to take ſo much as a thread or a ſhoelatchet from the king of Sodom, though no foe of his, but a wicked king; and

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ſhall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies, whoſe gifts are no gifts, but the inſtruments of our bane? Alas! that the ſpirit of God ſhould blow as an uncertain wind, ſhould ſo miſtake his inſpiring, ſo miſbeſtow his gifts promiſed only to the elect, that the idolatrous ſhould find words acceptable to preſent God with, and abound to their neighbours, while the true profeſſors of the goſpel can find nothing of their own worth the conſtituting, wherewith to worſhip God in public! Conſider if this be to magnify the church of England, and not rather to diſplay her nakedneſs to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this Romiſh liturgy is a provocation to God, and a diſhonour to our church, ſo is it by thoſe ceremonies, thoſe purifyings and offerings at the altar, a pollution and diſturbance to the goſpel itſelf; and a kind of driving us with the fooliſh Galatians to another goſpel. For that which the Apoſtles taught hath freed us in religion from the ordinances of men, and commands that "burdens be not laid" upon the redeemed of Chriſt; though the formaliſt will ſay, What, no decency in God's worſhip? Certainly, readers, the worſhip of God ſingly in itſelf, the very act of prayer and thankſgiving, with thoſe free and unimpoſed expreſſions which from a ſincere heart unbidden come into the outward geſture, is the greateſt decency that can be imagined. Which to dreſs up and garniſh with a deviſed bravery aboliſhed in the law, and diſclaimed by the goſpel, adds nothing but a deformed uglineſs; and hath ever afforded a colourable pretence to bring in all thoſe traditions and carnalities that are ſo killing to the power and virtue of the goſpel. What was that which made the Jews, figured under the names of Aholah and Aholibah, go a whoring after all the heathen's inventions, but that they ſaw a religion gorgeouſly attired and deſirable to the eye? What was all that the falſe doctors of the primitive church, and ever ſince have done, but "to make a fair ſhow in the fleſh," as St. Paul's words are? If we have indeed given a bill of divorce to popery and ſuperſtition, why do we not ſay as to a divorced wife, Thoſe things which are yours take them all with you, and they ſhall ſweep after you? Why were



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not we thus wiſe at our parting from Rome? Ah! like a crafty adultereſs ſhe forgot not all her ſmooth looks and enticing words at her parting; yet keep theſe letters, theſe tokens, and theſe few ornaments; I am not all ſo greedy of what is mine, let them preſerve with you the memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, once fair and lovely in your eyes. Thus did thoſe tender-hearted reformers dotingly ſuffer themſelves to be overcome with harlot's language. And ſhe like a witch, but with a contrary policy, did not take ſomething of theirs, that ſhe might ſtill have power to bewitch them, but for the ſame intent left ſomething of her own behind her. And that her whoriſh cunning ſhould prevail to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be ſad to ſpeak, yet ſuch is our blindneſs, that we deſerve. For we are deep in dotage. We cry out ſacrilege and miſdevotion againſt thoſe who in zeal have demoliſhed the dens and cages of her unclean wallowings. We ſtand for a popiſh liturgy as for the ark of our covenant. And ſo little does it appear our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the parliament, that they may ſtill ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object, that if we muſt forſake all that is Rome's, we muſt bid adieu to our creed; and I had thought our creed had been of the Apoſtles, for ſo it bears title. But if it be hers, let her take it. We can want no creed, ſo long as we want not the ſcriptures. We magnify thoſe who, in reforming our church, have inconſiderately and blamefully permitted the old leaven to remain and ſour our whole lump. But they were martyrs; true, and he that looks well into the book of God's providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting brought all that following perſecution upon this church, and on themſelves, perhaps will be found at the laſt day not to have read amiſs.

## SECT. XII.

But now, readers, we have the port within ſight; his laſt ſection, which is no deep one, remains only to be forded,

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forded, and then the wiſhed ſhore. And here firſt it pleaſes him much, that he had deſcried me, as he conceives, to be unread in the councils. Concerning which matter it will not be unneceſſary to ſhape him this anſwer; that ſome years I had ſpent in the ſtories of thoſe Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily ſpoken; when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the church had obtained a Chriſtian emperor, I ſo prepared myſelf, as being now to read examples of wiſdom and goodneſs among thoſe who were foremoſt in the church, not elſewhere to be parallelled; but, to the amazement of what I expected, readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in ſome very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combuſtion; inſomuch that I could not but love the hiſtorian Socrates, who, in the proem to his fifth book profeſſes, "he was fain to intermix affairs of ſtate, for that it would be elſe an extreme annoyance to hear in a continued diſcourſe the endleſs brabbles and counterplottings of the biſhops." Finding, therefore, the moſt of their actions in ſingle to be weak, and yet turbulent; full of ſtrife, and yet flat of ſpirit; and the ſum of their beſt councils there collected, to be moſt commonly in queſtions either trivial and vain, or elſe of ſhort and eaſy deciſion; without that great buſtle which they made; I concluded that if their ſingle ambition and ignorance was ſuch, then certainly united in a council it would be much more; and if the compendious recital of what they there did was ſo tedious and unprofitable, then ſurely to ſet out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes would be a loſs of time irrecoverable. Beſides that which I had read of St. Martin, who for his laſt ſixteen years could never be perſuaded to be at any council of the biſhops. And Gregory Nazianzen betook him to the ſame reſolution, affirming to Procopius, "that of any council or meeting of biſhops he never ſaw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evil in the church, but rather an increaſe. For," ſaith he, "their contentions and deſire of lording no tongue is able to expreſs." I have not therefore, I confeſs, read more of the councils ſave here and there; I ſhould be ſorry to have been ſuch a prodigal

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of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this confuter, I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of Muræna was answered by Cicero to Sulpitius the lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert councilist. For, be not deceived, readers, by men that would overawe your ears with big names and huge tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cram a margin with citations. Do but winnow their chaff from their wheat, ye shall see their great heap shrink and wax thin past belief. From hence he passes to inquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the prelates only, seeing the inferiour clergy is known to be as faulty. To which let him hear in brief; that those priests whose vices have been notorious, are all prelatical, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remissness of that government. We hear not of any which are called nonconformists, that have been accused of scandalous living; but are known to be pious or at least sober men. Which is a great good argument that they are in the truth and prelates in the errour. He would be resolved next, "What the corruptions of the universities concern the prelates?" And to that let him take this, that the Remonstrant having spoken as if learning would decay with the removal of prelates, I showed him that while books were extant and in print, learning could not readily be at a worse pass in the universities than it was now under their government. Then he seeks to justify the pernicious sermons of the clergy, as if they upheld sovereignty; whenas all Christian sovereignty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the dissolution of law, which only sets up sovereignty, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to private will, to which they would enjoin a slavish obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant, and a tyrannised people. A little beneath he denies that great riches in the church are the baits of pride and ambition; of which errour to undeceive him, I shall allege a reputed divine authority,

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authority, as ancient as Conſtantine, which his love to antiquity muſt not except againſt; and to add the more weight, he ſhall learn it rather in the words of our old poet Gower than in mine, that he may ſee it is no new opinion, but a truth delivered of old by a voice from Heaven, and ratified by long experience.

" This Conſtantine which heal hath found,
" Within Rome anon let found
" Two churches which he did make
" For Peter and for Paul's ſake:
" Of whom he had a viſion,
" And yafe thereto poſſeſſion
" Of lordſhip and of worlds good;
" But how ſo that his will was good
" Toward the pope and his franchiſe,
" Yet hath it proved otherwiſe
" To ſee the working of the deed:
" For in cronick thus I read,
" Anon as he hath made the yeſt,
" A voice was heard on high the left,
" Of which all Rome was adrad,
" And ſaid, this day venim is ſhad
" In holy Church, of temporall
" That meddleth with the ſpiritual;
" And how it ſtant in that degree,
" Yet may a man the ſooth ſee.
" God amend it whan he will,
" I can thereto none other ſkill."

But there were beaſts of prey, ſaith he, before wealth was beſtowed on the church. What, though, becauſe the vultures had then but ſmall pickings, ſhall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? If they for lucre uſe to creep into the church undiſcernibly, the more wiſdom will it be ſo to provide that no revenue there may exceed the golden mean; for ſo, good paſtors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withal the precept and example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and alſo will be leſs tempted to ambition. The bad will have but ſmall matter whereon to ſet their miſchief awork; and the worſt and ſubtleſt heads will not come at all, when they ſhall ſee the crop nothing anſwerable to their capacious greedineſs; for ſmall temptations allure but dribbling offenders; but a great purchaſe will call

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call ſuch as both are moſt able of themſelves, and will be moſt enabled hereby to compaſs dangerous projects. But, ſaith he, "a widow's houſe will tempt as well as a biſhop's palace." Acutely ſpoken! becauſe neither we nor the prelates can aboliſh widows houſes, which are but an occaſion taken of evil without the church, therefore we ſhall ſet up within the church a lottery of ſuch prizes as are the direct inviting cauſes of avarice and ambition, both unneceſſary and harmful to be propoſed, and moſt eaſy, moſt convenient, and needful to be removed. "Yea but they are in a wiſe diſpenſer's hand." Let them be in whoſe hand they will, they are moſt apt to blind, to puff up, and pervert, the moſt ſeeming good. And how they have been kept from vultures, whatever the diſpenſer's care hath been, we have learned by our miſeries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein or humour took him when he let drop into his paper; I that was ere while the ignorant, the loiterer, on the ſudden by his permiſſion am now granted "to know ſomething." And that "ſuch a volley of expreſſions" he hath met withal, "as he would never deſire to have them better clothed." For me, readers, although I cannot ſay that I am utterly untrained in thoſe rules which beſt rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with thoſe examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue; yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the ſerious and hearty love of truth: and that whoſe mind ſoever is fully poſſeſſed with a fervent deſire to know good things, and with the deareſt charity to infuſe the knowledge of them into others, when ſuch a man would ſpeak, his words (by what I can expreſs) like ſo many nimble and airy ſervitors trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wiſh, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our diſcourſe. Chriſt refuſed great riches, and large honours at the devil's hand. But why, ſaith he, "as they were tendered by him from whom it was a ſin to receive them." Timely remembered: why is it not therefore as much a ſin to receive a liturgy of the maſſes' giving, were it for nothing elſe but for the giver? "But he could make no uſe of ſuch a high eſtate," quoth the

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the confuter; opportunely. For why then ſhould the ſervant take upon him to uſe thoſe things which his maſter had unfitted himſelf to uſe, that he might teach his miniſters to follow his ſteps in the ſame miniſtry? But "they were offered him to a bad end." So they prove to the prelates, who, after their preferment, moſt uſually change the teaching labour of the word, into the unteaching eaſe of lordſhip over conſciences and purſes. But he proceeds, "God enticed the Iſraelites with the promiſe of Canaan;" did not the prelates bring as ſlaviſh minds with them, as the Jews brought out of Egypt? they had left out that inſtance. Beſides that it was then the time, whenas the beſt of them, as St. Paul ſaith, "was ſhut up unto the faith under the law their ſchoolmaſter," who was forced to entice them as children with childiſh enticements. But the goſpel is our manhood, and the miniſtry ſhould be the manhood of the goſpel, not to look after, much leſs ſo baſely to plead for earthly rewards. "But God incited the wiſeſt man Solomon with theſe means." Ah, confuter of thyſelf, this example hath undone thee; Solomon aſked an underſtanding heart, which the prelates have little care to aſk. He aſked no riches, which is their chief care; therefore was the prayer of Solomon pleaſing to God; he gave him wiſdom at his requeſt, and riches without aſking, as now he gives the prelates riches at their ſeeking, and no wiſdom becauſe of their perverſe aſking. But he gives not over yet, "Moſes had an eye to the reward." To what reward, thou man that lookeſt with Balaam's eyes? To what reward had the faith of Moſes an eye? He that had forſaken all the greatneſs of Egypt, and choſe a troubleſome journey in his old age through the wilderneſs, and yet arrived not at his journey's end. His faithful eyes were fixed upon that incorruptible reward, promiſed to Abraham and his ſeed in the Meſſiah; he ſought a heavenly reward, which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to ſuch a reward every good man may have a reſpect; but the prelates are eager of ſuch rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worſe. Jacob, a prince born, vowed that if God would

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would "but give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, then the Lord ſhould be his God." But the prelates of mean birth, and ofttimes of loweſt, making ſhow as if they were called to the ſpiritual and humble miniſtry of the goſpel, yet murmur, and think it a hard ſervice, unleſs, contrary to the tenour of their profeſſion, they may eat the bread and wear the honours of princes: ſo much more covetous and baſe they are than Simon Magus, for he profered a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hired to. But, ſaith he, "Are not the clergy members of Chriſt, why ſhould not each member thrive alike?" Carnal textman! as if worldly thriving were one of the privileges we have by being in Chriſt, and were not a providence ofttimes extended more liberally to the infidel than to the chriſtian. Therefore muſt the miniſters of Chriſt not be over rich or great in the world, becauſe their calling is ſpiritual, not ſecular; becauſe they have a ſpecial warfare, which is not to be entangled with many impediments; becauſe their maſter Chriſt gave them this precept, and ſet them this example, told them this was the myſtery of his coming, by mean things and perſons to ſubdue mighty ones: and laſtly, becauſe a middle eſtate is moſt proper to the office of teaching, whereas higher dignity teaches far leſs, and blinds the teacher. Nay, ſaith the confuter, fetching his laſt endeavour, "the prelates will be very loth to let go their baronies, and votes in parliament," and calls it "God's cauſe," with an inſufferable impudence. "Not that they love the honours and the means," good men and generous! "but that they would not have their country made guilty of ſuch a ſacrilege and injuſtice!" A worthy patriot for his own corrupt ends. That which he imputes as ſacrilege to his country, is the only way left them to purge that abominable ſacrilege out of the land, which none but the prelates are guilty of; who, for the diſcharge of one ſingle duty, receive and keep that which might be enough to ſatisfy the labours of many painful miniſters better deſerving than themſelves; who poſſeſs huge benefices for lazy performances, great promotions only for the execution of

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of a cruel diſgoſpelling juriſdiction; who ingroſs many pluralities under a nonreſident and ſlubbering diſpatch of ſouls; who let hundreds of pariſhes famiſh in one dioceſe, while they the prelates are mute, and yet enjoy that wealth that would furniſh all thoſe dark places with able ſupply; and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of earls, and yet hoard up; they who chaſe away all the faithful ſhepherds of the flock, and bring in a dearth of ſpiritual food, robbing thereby the church of her dearest treaſure, and ſending herds of ſouls ſtarveling to Hell, while they feaſt and riot upon the labours of hireling curates, conſuming and purloining even that which by their foundation is allowed, and left to the poor, and to reparations of the church. Theſe are they who have bound the land with the ſin of ſacrilege, from which mortal engagement we ſhall never be free, till we have totally removed with one labour, as one individual thing, prelaty and ſacrilege. And herein will the king be a true defender of the faith, not by paring or leſſening, but by diſtributing in due proportion the maintenance of the church, that all parts of the land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent preaching of the faith, the ſcandal of ceremonies thrown out that delude and circumvent the faith; and the uſurpation of prelates laid level, who are in words the fathers, but in their deeds, the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will beſt confirm him in that glorious title. Thus ye have heard, readers, how many ſhifts and wiles the prelates have invented to ſave their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in ſcripture it is foretold, that pride and covetouſneſs are the ſure marks of thoſe falſe prophets which are to come; then boldly conclude theſe to be as great ſeducers as any of the latter times. For between this and the judgment day do not look for any arch deceivers, who in ſpite of reformation will uſe more craft, or leſs ſhame to defend their love of the world and their ambition, than theſe prelates have done. And if ye think that ſoundneſs of reaſon, or what force of argument ſoever will bring them to an ingenuous ſilence, ye think that which will never be. But if ye take that courſe which Eraſmus was wont to

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to ſay Luther took againſt the pope and monks; if ye denounce war againſt their mitres and their bellies, ye ſhall ſoon diſcern that turban of pride, which they wear upon their heads, to be no helmet of ſalvation, but the mere metal and hornwork of papal juriſdiction; and that they have alſo this gift, like a certain kind of ſome that are poſſeſſed, to have their voice in their bellies, which, being well drained and taken down, their great oracle, which is only there, will ſoon be dumb; and the divine right of epiſcopacy, forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and diſputes.



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OF

# EDUCATION.

TO

## MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

MASTER HARTLIB,

I AM long ſince perſuaded, that to ſay or do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpoſe or reſpect ſhould ſooner move us than ſimply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheleſs to write now the reforming of education, though it be one of the greateſt and nobleſt deſigns that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation periſhes; I had not yet at this time been induced, but by your earneſt entreaties and ſerious conjurements; as having my mind for the preſent half diverted in the purſuance of ſome other aſſertions, the knowledge and the uſe of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honeſt living with much more peace. Nor ſhould the laws of any private friendſhip have prevailed with me to divide thus, or tranſpoſe my former thoughts, but that I ſee thoſe aims, thoſe actions, which have won you with me the eſteem of a perſon ſent hither by ſome good providence from a far country to be the occaſion and incitement of great good to this iſland. And, as I hear, you have obtained the ſame repute with men of moſt approved wiſdom, and ſome of the higheſt authority among us; not to mention the learned correſpondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence, which you have uſed in this matter both here and beyond the ſeas; either by the definite will of God ſo ruling, or the peculiar ſway of nature, which alſo is God's working.


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Neither can I think that ſo reputed and ſo valued as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own diſcerning ability, impoſe upon me an unfit and overponderous argument; but that the ſatisfaction, which you profeſs to have received from thoſe incidental diſcourſes which we have wandered into, hath preſſed and almoſt conſtrained you into a perſuaſion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought nor can in conſcience defer beyond this time both of ſo much need at once, and ſo much opportunity to try what God hath determined. I will not reſiſt therefore whatever it is, either of divine or human obligement, that you lay upon me; but will forthwith ſet down in writing, as you requeſt me, that voluntary idea, which hath long in *ſilence* preſented itſelf to me, of a better education, in extent and comprehenſion far more large, and yet of time far ſhorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief I ſhall endeavour to be; for that which I have to ſay, aſſuredly this nation hath extreme need ſhould be done ſooner than ſpoken. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors, I ſhall ſpare; and to ſearch what many modern Januas and Didactics, more than ever I ſhall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of theſe few obſervations which have flowered off, and are as it were the burniſhing of many ſtudious and contemplative years altogether ſpent in the ſearch of religious and civil knowledge, and ſuch as pleaſed you ſo well in the relating, I here give you them to diſpoſe of.

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our firſt parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the neareſt by poſſeſſing our ſouls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the higheſt perfection. But becauſe our underſtanding cannot in this body found itſelf but on ſenſible things, nor arrive ſo clearly to the knowledge of God and things inviſible, as by orderly conning over the viſible and inferior creature, the ſame method is neceſſarily to be followed in all diſcreet teaching. And ſeeing every

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nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of thoſe people who have at any time been moſt induſtrious after wiſdom; ſo that language is but the inſtrument conveying to us things uſeful to be known. And though a linguiſt ſhould pride himſelf to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not ſtudied the ſolid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing ſo much to be eſteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradeſman competently wiſe in his mother dialect only. Hence appear the many miſtakes which have made learning generally ſo unpleaſing and ſo unſucceſsful; firſt, we do amiſs to ſpend ſeven or eight years merely in ſcraping together ſo much miſerable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwiſe eaſily and delightfully in one year. And that which caſts our proficiency therein ſo much behind, is our time loſt partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to ſchools and univerſities; partly in a prepoſterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compoſe themes, verſes, and orations, which are the acts of ripeſt judgment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and obſerving, with elegant maxims and copious invention. Theſe are not matters to be wrung from poor ſtriplings, like blood out of the noſe, or the plucking of untimely fruit; beſides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing againſt the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continued and judicious converſing among pure authors digeſted, which they ſcarce taſte: whereas, if after ſome preparatory grounds of ſpeech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in ſome choſen ſhort book leſſoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the ſubſtance of good things, and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the moſt rational and moſt profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may beſt hope to give account to God of our youth ſpent herein. And for the uſual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old errour of univerſities, not yet well recovered



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from the ſcholaſtic groſſneſs of barbarous ages, that inſtead of beginning with arts moſt eaſy, (and thoſe be ſuch as are moſt obvious to the ſenſe,) they preſent their young unmatriculated novices at firſt coming with the moſt intellective abſtractions of logic and metaphyſics; ſo that they having but newly left thoſe grammatic flats and ſhallows where they ſtuck unreaſonably to learn a few words with lamentable conſtruction, and now on the ſudden tranſported under another climate to be toſſed and turmoiled with their unballaſted wits in fathomleſs and unquiet deeps of controverſy, do for the moſt part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their ſeveral ways, and haſten them with the ſway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity; ſome allured to the trade of law, grounding their purpoſes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of juſtice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promiſing and pleaſing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to ſtate affairs, with ſouls ſo unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery and courtſhifts and tyrannous aphoriſms appear to them the higheſt points of wiſdom; inſtilling their barren hearts with a conſcientious ſlavery; if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, laſtly, of a more delicious and airy ſpirit, retire themſelves, (knowing no better) to the enjoyments of eaſe and luxury, living out their days in feaſt and jollity; which indeed is the wiſeſt and the ſafeſt courſe of all theſe, unleſs they were with more integrity undertaken. *And theſe are the errours, and theſe are the fruits of miſpending our prime youth at the ſchools and univerſities as we do, either in learning mere words, or ſuch things chiefly as were better unlearned.

I ſhall detain you now no longer in the demonſtration of what we ſhould not do, but ſtraight conduct you to a hillſide, where I will point you out the right path of a

* Thus it is in the firſt edition.

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virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the firſt aſcent, but elſe ſo ſmooth, ſo green, ſo full of goodly proſpect, and melodious ſounds on every ſide, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. I doubt not but ye ſhall have more ado to drive our dulleſt and lazieſt youth, our ſtocks and ſtubs, from the infinite deſire of ſuch a happy nurture, than we have now to hale and drag our choiceſt and hopefulleſt wits to that aſininc feaſt of ſowthiſtles and brambles, which is commonly ſet before them as all the food and entertainment of their tendereſt and moſt docible age. I call therefore a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform juſtly, ſkilfully, and magnanimouſly all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one and twenty, leſs time than is now beſtowed in pure trifling at grammar and ſophiſtry, is to be thus ordered.

Firſt, to find out a ſpacious houſe and ground about it fit for an academy, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty perſons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who ſhall be thought of deſert ſufficient, and ability either to do all, or wiſely to direct and overſee it done. This place ſhould be at once both ſchool and univerſity, not needing a remove to any other houſe of ſcholarſhip, except it be ſome peculiar college of law, or phyſic, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for thoſe general ſtudies which take up all our time from Lilly to commencing, as they term it, maſter of art, it ſhould be abſolute. After this pattern, as many edifices as may be converted to this uſe as ſhall be needful in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the increaſe of learning and civility every where. This number, leſs or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, ſhould divide their day's work into three parts as it lies orderly; their ſtudies, their exerciſe, and their diet.

For their ſtudies; firſt, they ſhould begin with the chief and neceſſary rules of ſome good grammar, either that now uſed, or any better; and while this is doing, their ſpeech is to be faſhioned to a diſtinct and clear pro-



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nunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, eſpecially in the vowels. For we Engliſhmen being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air, wide enough to grace a ſouthern tongue; but are obſerved by all other nations to ſpeak exceeding cloſe and inward; ſo that to ſmatter Latin with an Engliſh mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next, to make them expert in the uſefulleſt points of grammar; and withal to ſeaſon them and win them early to the love of virtue and true labour, ere any flattering ſeducement or vain principle ſeize them wandering, ſome eaſy and delightful book of education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have ſtore, as Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic diſcourſes. But in Latin we have none of claſſic authority extant, except the two or three firſt books of Quintilian, and ſome ſelect pieces elſewhere. But here the main ſkill and groundwork will be, to temper them ſuch lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflamed with the ſtudy of learning, and the admiration of virtue; ſtirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may deſpiſe and ſcorn all their childiſh and illtaught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal exerciſes; which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual perſuaſions, and what with the intimation of ſome fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a ſhort ſpace gain them to an incredible diligence and courage; infuſing into their young breaſts ſuch an ingenuous and noble ardour, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchleſs men. At the ſame time, ſome other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of arithmetic, and ſoon after the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repaſt, till bedtime, their thoughts would be beſt taken up in the eaſy grounds of religion, and the ſtory of ſcripture. The next ſtep would be to the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is moſt eaſy; and if the language be difficult, ſo much the better, it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occaſion of inciting, and enabling

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enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad ſoil, and to remedy the waſte that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules's praiſes. Ere half theſe authors be read, (which will ſoon be with plying hard and daily) they cannot chooſe but be maſters of any ordinary proſe. So that it will be then ſeaſonable for them to learn in any modern author the uſe of the globes, and all the maps; firſt with the old 4.
names, and then with the new; or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of natural phi- 5.
loſophy. And at the ſame time might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the ſame manner as was before preſcribed in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being ſoon overcome, all the hiſtorical phyſiology of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus are open before them, and, as I may ſay, under contribution. The like acceſs will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's natural queſtions, to Mela, Celſus, Pliny, or Solinus. And having thus paſſed the principles of arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, and geography, with a general compact of phyſics, they may deſcend in mathematics to the inſtrumental ſcience of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation. And in natural philoſophy they may proceed leiſurely from the hiſtory of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy. Then alſo in courſe might be read to them out of ſome not tedious writer the inſtitution of phyſic; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the ſeaſons, and how to manage a crudity; which he who can wiſely and timely do, is not only a great phyſician to himſelf and to his friends, but alſo may at ſome time or other ſave an army by this frugal and expenſeleſs means only; and not let the healthy and ſtout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this diſcipline; which is a great pity, and no leſs a ſhame to the commander. To ſet forward all theſe proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as ſhall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fiſhermen, ſhepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other ſciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomiſts; who doubtleſs would be



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ready, ſome for reward, and ſome to favour ſuch a hopeful ſeminary. And this will give them ſuch a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they ſhall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then alſo thoſe poets which are now counted moſt hard, will be both facil and pleaſant, Orpheus, Heſiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionyſius, and in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural part of Virgil.

By this time, years, and good general precepts, will have furniſhed them more diſtinctly with that act of reaſon which in ethics is called Proaireſis; that they may with ſome judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a ſpecial reinforcement of conſtant and ſound indoctrinating to ſet them right and firm, inſtructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice; while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, and thoſe Locrian remnants; but ſtill to be reduced in their nightward ſtudies wherewith they cloſe the day's work, under the determinate ſentence of David or Solomon, or the evangels and apoſtolic ſcriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of perſonal duty, they may then begin the ſtudy of œconomics. And either now or before this, they may have eaſily learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue. And ſoon after, but with warineſs and good antidote, it would be wholeſome enough to let them taſte ſome choice comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian; thoſe tragedies alſo, that treat of houſehold matters, as Trachiniæ, Alceſtis, and the like. The next removal muſt be to the ſtudy of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reaſons of political ſocieties; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth be ſuch poor, ſhaken, uncertain reeds, of ſuch a tottering conſcience, as many of our great counſellors have lately ſhown themſelves, but ſtedfaſt pillars of the ſtate. After this, they are to dive into the grounds of law, and legal juſtice; delivered firſt and with beſt warrant by Moſes; and as far as human prudence can be truſted, in thoſe extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, and thence to all the Roman edicts and tables with their

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their Juſtinian; and ſo down to the Saxon and common laws of England, and the ſtatutes. Sundays alſo and every evening may be now underſtandingly ſpent in the higheſt matters of theology, and church-hiſtory ancient and modern; and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a ſet hour might have been gained, that the ſcriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impoſſibility to add the Chaldee, and the Syrian dialect. When all theſe employments are well conquered, then will the choice hiſtories, heroic poems, and attic tragedies of ſtateſieſt and moſt regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themſelves; which if they were not only read, but ſome of them got by memory, and ſolemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the ſpirit and vigour of Demoſthenes or Cicero, Euripides, or Sophocles. And now laſtly will be the time, to read with them thoſe organic arts, which enable men to diſcourſe and write perſpicuouſly, elegantly, and according to the fitted ſtyle of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, ſo much as is uſeful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Ariſtotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus. To which poetry would be made ſubſequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being leſs ſubtile and fine, but more ſimple, ſenſuous, and paſſionate. I mean not here the proſody of a verſe, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that ſublime art which in Ariſtotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Caſtlevetro, Taſſo, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand maſterpiece to obſerve. This would make them ſoon perceive what deſpicable creatures our common rhimers and play writers be; and ſhow them what religious, what glorious and magnificent uſe might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now, will be the right ſeaſon of forming them to

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to be able writers and compoſers in every excellent matter, when they ſhall be thus fraught with an univerſal inſight into things. Or whether they be to ſpeak in parliament or council, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then alſo appear in pulpits other viſages, other geſtures, and ſtuff otherwiſe wrought than what we now ſit under, oftimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. Theſe are the ſtudies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to beſtow their time in a diſciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unleſs they rely more upon their anceſtors dead than upon themſelves living. In which methodical courſe it is ſo ſuppoſed they muſt proceed by the ſteady pace of learning onward as at convenient times for memory's ſake to retire back into the middle ward, and ſometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and ſolidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the laſt embattelling of a Roman legion. Now will be worth the ſeeing, what exerciſes and recreations may beſt agree, and become theſe ſtudies.

### THEIR EXERCISE.

The courſe of ſtudy hitherto briefly deſcribed is, what I can gueſs by reading, likeſt to thoſe ancient and famous ſchools of Pythagoras, Plato, Iſocrates, Ariſtotle, and ſuch others, out of which were bred ſuch a number of renowned philoſophers, orators, hiſtorians, poets, and princes all over Greece, Italy, and Aſia, beſides the flouriſhing ſtudies of Cyrene and Alexandria. But herein it ſhall exceed them, and ſupply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta; whereas that city trained up their youth moſt for war, and theſe in their academies and Lycæum all for the gown, this inſtitution of breeding which I here delineate ſhall be equally good both for peace and war. Therefore about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon ſhould be allowed them for exerciſe, and due reſt afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleaſure, according as their riſing in the morning ſhall be early. The exerciſe

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exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned; either whilst the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it close under vigilant eyes, till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then as their age permits, on horseback, to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership, in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and warlike

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warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long war come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the ſervice of their country. They would not then, if they were truſted with fair and hopeful armies, ſuffer them for want of juſt and wiſe diſcipline to ſhed away from about them like ſick feathers, though they be never ſo oft ſupplied; they would not ſuffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty men in a company, to quaff out, or convey into ſecret hoards, the wages of a deluſive liſt, and a miſerable remnant; yet in the mean while to be overmaſtered with a ſcore or two of drunkards, the only ſoldiery left about them, or elſe to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew aught of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governors, they would not ſuffer theſe things. But to return to our own inſtitute; beſides theſe conſtant exerciſes at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleaſure itſelf abroad; in thoſe vernal ſeaſons of the year when the air is calm and pleaſant, it were an injury and ſullenneſs againſt nature, not to go out and ſee her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with Heaven and earth. I ſhould not therefore be a perſuader to them of ſtudying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and ſtaid guides to all the quarters of the land; learning and obſerving all places of ſtrength, all commodities of building and of ſoil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports for trade. Sometimes taking ſea as far as to our navy, to learn there alſo what they can in the practical knowledge of ſailing and of ſea-fight. Theſe ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any ſecret excellence among them would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itſelf by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into faſhion again thoſe old admired virtues and excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of chriſtian knowledge. Nor ſhall we then need the monſieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their ſlight and prodigal cuſtodies, and ſend them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kickſhows. But if they deſire to ſee other countries



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tries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wiſe obſervation, they will by that time be ſuch as ſhall deſerve the regard and honour of all men where they paſs, and the ſociety and friendſhip of thoſe in all places who are beſt and moſt eminent. And perhaps, then other nations will be glad to viſit us for their breeding, or elſe to imitate us in their own country.

Now laſtly for their diet there cannot be much to ſay, ſave only that it would be beſt in the ſame houſe; for much time elſe would be loſt abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it ſhould be plain, healthful, and moderate, I ſuppoſe is out of controverſy. Thus Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your deſire was, of that, which at ſeveral times I had diſcourſed with you concerning the beſt and nobleſt way of education; not beginning as ſome have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many conſiderations, if brevity had not been my ſcope; many other circumſtances alſo I could have mentioned, but this to ſuch as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to ſhoot in, that counts himſelf a teacher; but will require ſinews almoſt equal to thoſe which Homer gave Ulyſſes; yet I am withal perſuaded that it may prove much more eaſy in the aſſay, than it now ſeems at diſtance, and much more illuſtrious; howbeit, not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination preſents me with nothing but very happy, and very poſſible according to beſt wiſhes; if God have ſo decreed, and this age have ſpirit and capacity enough to apprehend.



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# AREOPAGITICA:

## A SPEECH FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING,

### TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

Τὰ ἐλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο, ἔι τις θέλει πόλει
Χρησόν τι βάλευμ' εἰς μεσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ', ὁ χρῄζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τουτων ἐξιν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicetid.

This is true Liberty, when freeborn men,
Having to adviſe the public, may ſpeak free,
Which he who can, and will, deſerves high praiſe;
Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juſter in a ſtate than this?

Euripid. Hicetid.

THEY, who to ſtates and governors of the commonwealth direct their ſpeech, high court of parliament! or wanting ſuch acceſs in a private condition, write that which they foreſee may advance the public good; I ſuppoſe them, as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little altered and moved inwardly in their minds; ſome with doubt of what will be the ſucceſs, others with fear of what will be the cenſure; ſome with hope, others with confidence of what they have to ſpeak. And me perhaps each of theſe diſpoſitions, as the ſubject was whereon I entered, may have at other times variouſly affected; and likely might in theſe foremoſt expreſſions now alſo diſcloſe which of them ſwayed moſt, but that the very attempt of this addreſs thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourſe to, hath got the power within me to a paſſion, far more welcome than incidental to a preface. Which though I ſtay not to confeſs ere any aſk, I ſhall be blameleſs, if it be no other, than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wiſh and promote

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promote their country's liberty; whereof this whole diſcourſe propoſed will be a certain teſtimony, if not a trophy. For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever ſhould ariſe in the commonwealth, that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply conſidered, and ſpeedily reformed, then is the utmoſt bound of civil liberty attained, that wiſe men look for. To which if I now manifeſt, by the very ſound of this which I ſhall utter, that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from ſuch a ſteep diſadvantage of tyranny and ſuperſtition grounded into our principles, as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will be attributed firſt, as is moſt due, to the ſtrong aſſiſtance of God, our deliverer; next, to your faithful guidance and undaunted wiſdom, lords and commons of England! Neither is it in God's eſteem, the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are ſpoken of good men, and worthy magiſtrates; which if I now firſt ſhould begin to do, after ſo fair a progreſs of your laudable deeds, and ſuch a long obligement upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be juſtly reckoned among the tardieſt, and the unwillingeſt of them that praiſe ye. Nevertheleſs there being three principal things, without which all praiſing is but courtſhip and flattery, firſt, when that only is praiſed which is ſolidly worth praiſe; next, when greateſt likelihoods are brought, that ſuch things are truly and really in thoſe perſons, to whom they are aſcribed; the other, when he who praiſes, by ſhowing that ſuch his actual perſuaſion is of whom he writes, can demonſtrate that he flatters not; the former two of theſe I have heretofore endeavoured, reſcuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a trivial and malignant encomium; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I ſo extolled I did not flatter, hath been reſerved opportunely to this occaſion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the beſt covenant of his fidelity; and that his loyaleſt affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His higheſt praiſing is not flattery, and his plaineſt advice

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is

is a kind of praiſing; for though I ſhould affirm and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the commonwealth, if one of your publiſhed orders, which I ſhould name, were called in; yet at the ſame time it could not but much redound to the luſtre of your mild and equal government, whenas private perſons are hereby animated to think ye better pleaſed with public advice, than other ſtatiſts have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then ſee what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial parliament, and that jealous haughtineſs of prelates and cabin counſellors that uſurped of late, whenas they ſhall obſerve ye in the midſt of your victories and ſucceſſes more gently brooking written exceptions againſt a voted order, than other courts, which had produced nothing worth memory but the weak oſtentation of wealth, would have endured the leaſt ſignified diſlike at any ſudden proclamation. If I ſhould thus far preſume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatneſs, lords and commons! as what your publiſhed order hath directly ſaid, that to gainſay, I might defend myſelf with eaſe, if any ſhould accuſe me of being new or inſolent, did they but know how much better I find ye eſteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, than the barbaric pride of a Hunniſh and Norwegian ſtatelineſs. And out of thoſe ages, to whoſe polite wiſdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders, I could name him who from his private houſe wrote that diſcourſe to the parliament of Athens, that perſuades them to change the form of democraty which was then eſtabliſhed. Such honour was done in thoſe days to men who profeſſed the ſtudy of wiſdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and ſigniories heard them gladly, and with great reſpect, if they had aught in public to admoniſh the ſtate. Thus did Dion Pruſæus, a ſtranger and a private orator, counſel the Rhodians againſt a former edict; and I abound with other like examples, which to ſet here would be ſuperfluous. But if from the induſtry of a life wholly dedicated to ſtudious labours, and thoſe natural endowments haply not the

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worſt for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, ſo much muſt be derogated, as to count me not equal to any of thoſe who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not ſo inferior, as yourſelves are ſuperior to the moſt of them who received their counſel; and how far you excel them, be aſſured, lords and commons! there can no greater teſtimony appear, than when your prudent ſpirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reaſon, from what quarter ſoever it be heard ſpeaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any act of your own ſetting forth, as any ſet forth by your predeceſſors.

If ye be thus reſolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what ſhould withhold me from preſenting ye with a fit inſtance wherein to ſhow both that love of truth which ye eminently profeſs, and that uprightneſs of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to yourſelves; by judging over again that order which ye have ordained "to regulate printing; that no book, pamphlet, or paper, ſhall be henceforth printed, unleſs the ſame be firſt approved and licenſed by ſuch, or at leaſt one of ſuch, as ſhall be thereto appointed." For that part which preſerves juſtly every man's copy to himſelf, or provides for the poor, I touch not; only wiſh they be not made pretences to abuſe and perſecute honeſt and painful men, who offend not in either of theſe particulars. But that other clauſe of licenſing books, which we thought had died with his brother quadrageſimal and matrimonial when the prelates expired, I ſhall now attend with ſuch a homily, as ſhall lay before ye, firſt the inventors of it, to be thoſe whom ye will be loth to own; next, what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever ſort the books be; and that this order avails nothing to the ſuppreſſing of ſcandalous, ſeditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be ſuppreſſed. Laſt, that it will be primely to the diſcouragement of all learning, and the ſtop of truth, not only by diſexerciſing and blunting our abilities, in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the diſcovery that might be yet further made, both in religious and civil wiſdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greateſt concernment in the church and commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how



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how books demean themſelves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, impriſon, and do ſharpeſt juſtice on them as malefactors; for books are not abſolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that ſoul was whoſe progeny they are; nay, they do preſerve as in a vial the pureſt efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorouſly productive, as thoſe fabulous dragons teeth; and being ſown up and down, may chance to ſpring up armed men. And yet on the other hand, unleſs warineſs be uſed, as good almoſt kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reaſonable creature, God's image; but he who deſtroys a good book, kills reaſon itſelf, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious lifeblood of a maſter ſpirit, imbalmed and treaſured up on purpoſe to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can reſtore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loſs; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loſs of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worſe. We ſhould be wary therefore what perſecution we raiſe againſt the living labours of public men, how we ſpill that ſeaſoned life of man, preſerved and ſtored up in books; ſince we ſee a kind of homicide may be thus committed, ſometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impreſſion, a kind of maſſacre, whereof the execution ends not in the ſlaying of an elemental life, but ſtrikes at the æthereal and fifth eſſence, the breath of reaſon itſelf; ſlays an immortality rather than a life. But leſt I ſhould be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppoſe licenſing, I refuſe not the pains to be ſo much hiſtorical, as will ſerve to ſhow what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths, againſt this diſorder, till the very time that this project of licenſing crept out of the inquiſition, was catched up by our prelates, and hath caught ſome of our preſbyters.

In Athens, where books and wits were ever buſier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two ſorts of writings which the magiſtrate cared to take notice of; thoſe either blaſphemous and atheiſtical, or libellous. Thus

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Thus the books of Protagoras were by the judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himſelf baniſhed the territory for a diſcourſe, begun with his confeſſing not to know, "whether there were gods, or whether not." And againſt defaming, it was agreed that none ſhould be traduced by name, as was the manner of Vetus Comœdia, whereby we may gueſs how they cenſured libelling; and this courſe was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the deſperate wits of other atheiſts, and the open way of defaming, as the event ſhowed. Of other ſects and opinions, though tending to voluptuouſneſs, and the denying of divine providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine ſchool of Cyrene, or what the Cynic impudence uttered, was ever queſtioned by the laws. Neither is it recorded, that the writings of thoſe old comedians were ſuppreſſed, though the acting of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Ariſtophanes, the looſeſt of them all, to his royal ſcholar Dionyſius, is commonly known, and may be excuſed, if holy Chryſoſtom, as is reported, nightly ſtudied ſo much the ſame author, and had the art to cleanſe a ſcurrilous vehemence into the ſtyle of a rouſing ſermon. That other leading city of Greece, Lacedæmon, conſidering that Lycurgus their lawgiver was ſo addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the firſt that brought out of Ionia the ſcattered works of Homer, and ſent the poet Thales from Crete to prepare and mollify the Spartan ſurlineſs with his ſmooth ſongs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility; it is to be wondered how muſeleſs and unbookiſh they were, minding nought but the feats of war. There needed no licenſing of books among them, for they diſliked all but their own laconic apophthegms, and took a ſlight occaſion to chaſe Archilocus out of their city, perhaps for compoſing in a higher ſtrain than their own ſoldiery, ballads, and roundels, could reach to; or if it were for his broad verſes, they were not therein ſo cautious, but they were as diſſolute in their promiſcuous converſing; whence Euripides affirms in Andromache, that their women were all unchaſte. Thus much may give us light after what ſort of books were prohibited among



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the Greeks. The Romans alſo for many ages trained up only to a military roughneſs, reſembling moſt the Lacedæmonian guiſe, knew of learning little but what their twelve tables and the pontific college with their augurs and flamins taught them in religion and law; ſo unacquainted with other learning, that when Carneades and Critolaus, with the ſtoic Diogenes, coming embaſſadors to Rome, took thereby occaſion to give the city a taſte of their philoſophy, they were ſuſpected for ſeducers by no leſs a man than Cato the cenſor, who moved it in the ſenate to diſmiſs them ſpeedily, and to baniſh all ſuch Attic babblers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the nobleſt ſenators withſtood him and his old Sabin auſterity; honoured and admired the men; and the cenſor himſelf at laſt, in his old age, fell to the ſtudy of that whereof before he was ſo ſcrupulous. And yet at the ſame time, Nævius and Plautus, the firſt Latin comedians, had filled the city with all the borrowed ſcenes of Menander and Philemon. Then began to be conſidered there alſo what was to be done to libellous books and authors; for Nævius was quickly caſt into priſon for his unbridled pen, and releaſed by the tribunes upon his recantation; we read alſo that libels were burnt, and the makers puniſhed by Auguſtus. The like ſeverity, no doubt, was uſed, if aught were impiouſly written againſt their eſteemed gods. Except in theſe two points, how the world went in books, the magiſtrate kept no reckoning. And therefore Lucretius, without impeachment, verſifies his Epicuriſm to Memmius, and had the honour to be ſet forth the ſecond time by Cicero, ſo great a father of the commonwealth,; although himſelf diſputes againſt that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the ſatirical ſharpneſs or naked plainneſs of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of ſtate, the ſtory of Titus Livius, though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore ſuppreſſed by Octavius Cæſar, of the other faction. But that Naſo was by him baniſhed in his old age, for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a mere covert of ſtate over ſome ſecret cauſe; and beſides, the books were neither baniſhed nor called in. From hence we ſhall meet with little

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little elſe but tyranny in the Roman empire, that we may not marvel, if not ſo often bad as good books were ſilenced. I ſhall therefore deem to have been large enough, in producing what among the ancients was puniſhable to write, ſave only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the emperors were become chriſtians, whoſe diſcipline in this point I do not find to have been more ſevere than what was formerly in practice. The books of thoſe whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted, and condemned in the general councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the emperor. As for the writings of heathen authors, unleſs they were plain invectives againſt chriſtianity, as thoſe of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian council, wherein biſhops themſelves were forbid to read the books of gentiles, but hereſies they might read; while others long before them on the contrary ſcrupled more the books of heretics, than of gentiles. And that the primitive councils and biſhops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, paſſing no further, but leaving it to each one's conſcience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is obſerved already by Padre Paolo the great unmaſker of the Trentine council. After which time the popes of Rome, engroſſing what they pleaſed of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not; yet ſparing in their cenſures, and the books not many which they ſo dealt with; till Martin the fifth, by his bull not only prohibited, but was the firſt that excommunicated the reading of heretical books; for about that time Wickliffe and Huſſe growing terrible were they who firſt drove the papal court to a ſtricter policy of prohibiting. Which courſe Leo the tenth and his ſucceſſors followed, until the council of Trent, and the Spaniſh inquiſition engendering together brought forth or perfected thoſe catalogues and expurging indexes, that rake through the entrails of many an old good author, with



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a violation worſe than any could be offered to his tomb. Nor did they ſtay in matters heretical, but any ſubject, that was not to their palate, they either condemned in a prohibition, or had it ſtraight into the new Purgatory of an index. To fill up the meaſure of encroachment, their laſt invention was to ordain that no book, pamphlet, or paper, ſhould be printed (as if St. Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the preſs alſo as well as of Paradiſe) unleſs it were approved and licenſed under the hands of two or three gluttonous friars. For example:

> Let the chancellor Cini be pleaſed to ſee if in this preſent work be contained aught that may withſtand the printing;
>
> Vincent Rabbata, vicar of Florence.
>
> I have ſeen this preſent work, and find nothing athwart the catholic faith and good manners; in witneſs whereof I have given, &c.
>
> Nicolo Cini, chancellor of Florence.
>
> Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this preſent work of Davanzati may be printed,
>
> Vincent Rabatta, &c.
>
> It may be printed, July 15.
>
> Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia, chancellor of the holy office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomleſs pit had not long ſince broke priſon, that this quadruple exorciſm would bar him down. I fear their next deſign will be to get into their cuſtody the licenſing of that which they ſay Claudius intended*, but went not through with. Vouchſafe to ſee another of their forms, the Roman ſtamp;

> Imprimatur, If it ſeem good to the reverend maſter of the holy palace, Belcaſtro, vicegerent.

* Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. Sueton. in Claudio.

Imprimatur,

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Imprimatur,
Friar Nicholo Rodolphi maſter of the holy palace.

Sometimes five imprimaturs are ſeen together dialogue wiſe in the piatza of one titlepage, complimenting and ducking each to other with their ſhaven reverences, whether the author, who ſtands by in perplexity at the foot of his epiſtle, ſhall to the preſs or to the ſpunge. Theſe are the pretty reſponſories, theſe are the dear antiphonies, that ſo bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains, with the goodly echo they made; and beſotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly imprimatur, one from Lambeth-houſe, another from the weſt end of Paul's; ſo apiſhly romanizing, that the word of command ſtill was ſet down in Latin; as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it would caſt no ink without Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, becauſe no vulgar tongue was worthy to expreſs the pure conceit of an imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our Engliſh, the language of men ever famous and foremoſt in the achievements of liberty, will not eaſily find ſervile letters enow to ſpell ſuch a dictatory preſumption engliſhed. And thus ye have the inventors, and the original of book licenſing ripped up and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient ſtate, or polity, or church, nor by any ſtatute left us by our anceſtors elder or later; nor from the modern cuſtom of any reformed city or church abroad; but from the moſt antichriſtian council, and the moſt tyrannous inquiſition, that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the iſſue of the brain was no more ſtifled than the iſſue of the womb; no envious Juno ſat croſslegged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring; but if it proved a monſter, who denies but that it was juſtly burnt, or ſunk into the ſea? But that a book, in worſe condition than a peccant ſoul, ſhould be to ſtand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkneſs the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can paſs the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that myſterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the



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firſt entrance of reformation, ſought out new Limboes and new Hells wherein they might include our books alſo within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morſel ſo officiouſly ſnatched up, and ſo illfavouredly imitated by our inquiſiturient biſhops, and the attendant minorites their chaplains. That ye like not now theſe moſt certain authors of this licenſing order, and that all ſiniſter intention was far diſtant from your thoughts, when ye were importuned the paſſing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour truth, will clear ye readily.

But ſome will ſay, what though the inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good. It may ſo; yet if that thing be no ſuch deep invention, but obvious and eaſy for any man to light on, and yet beſt and wiſeſt commonwealths through all ages and occaſions have forborn to uſe it, and falſeſt ſeducers and oppreſſors of men were the firſt who took it up, and to no other purpoſe but to obſtruct and hinder the firſt approach of reformation; I am of thoſe who believe, it will be a harder alchymy than Lullius ever knew, to ſublimate any good uſe out of ſuch an invention. Yet this only is what I requeſt to gain from this reaſon, that it may be held a dangerous and ſuſpicious fruit, as certainly it deſerves, for the tree that bore it, until I can diſſect one by one the properties it has. But I have firſt to finiſh, as was propounded, what is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever ſort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds.

Not to inſiſt upon the examples of Moſes, Daniel, and Paul, who were ſkilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all ſorts, in Paul eſpecially, who thought it no defilement to inſert into holy ſcripture the ſentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a tragedian; the queſtion was notwithſtanding ſometimes controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that ſide which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived, when Julian the Apoſtate, and ſubtleſt enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Chriſtians the ſtudy of heathen learning;

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learning; for ſaid he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and ſciences they overcome us. And indeed the Chriſtians were put ſo to their ſhifts by this crafty means, and ſo much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii were fain, as a man may ſay, to coin all the ſeven liberal ſciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new chriſtian grammar. But, ſaith the hiſtorian Socrates, the providence of God provided better than the induſtry of Apollinarius and his ſon, by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who deviſed it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning; and thought it a perſecution more undermining, and ſecretly decaying the church, than the open cruelty of Decius or Diocleſian. And perhaps it was the ſame politic drift that the devil whipped St. Jerom in a lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or elſe it was a phantaſm, bred by the fever which had then ſeized him. For had an angel been his diſcipliner, unleſs it were for dwelling too much on Ciceronianiſms, and had chaſtiſed the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial; firſt to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for ſcurril Plautus, whom he confeſſes to have been reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let ſo many more ancient fathers wax old in thoſe pleaſant and florid ſtudies without the laſh of ſuch a tutoring apparition; inſomuch that Baſil teaches how ſome good uſe may be made of Margites a ſportful poem, not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not then of Morgante an Italian romance much to the ſame purpoſe? But if it be agreed we ſhall be tried by viſions, there is a viſion recorded by Euſebius, far ancienter than this tale of Jerom, to the nun Euſtochium, and beſides, has nothing of a fever in it. Dionyſius Alexandrinus was, about the year 240, a perſon of great name in the church, for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himſelf much againſt heretics, by being converſant in their books; until a certain preſbyter laid it ſcrupulouſly to his conſcience, how he durſt venture himſelf among thoſe defiling volumes. The worthy man, loth to give offence, fell into a new debate with himſelf, what

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what was to be thought; when ſuddenly a viſion ſent from God, (it is his own epiſtle that ſo avers it,) confirmed him in theſe words: "Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art ſufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter." To this revelation he aſſented the ſooner, as he confeſſes, becauſe it was anſwerable to that of the Apoſtle to the Theſſalonians; "Prove all things, hold faſt that which is good." And he might have added another remarkable ſaying of the ſame author: "To the pure, all things are pure;" not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge, whether of good or evil; the knowledge cannot defile, nor conſequently the books, if the will and conſcience be not defiled. For books are as meats and viands are; ſome of good, ſome of evil ſubſtance; and yet God in that unapocryphal viſion ſaid without exception, "riſe Peter kill and eat;" leaving the choice to each man's diſcretion. Wholeſome meats to a vitiated ſtomach differ little or nothing from unwholeſome; and beſt books to a naughty mind are not unapplicable to occaſions of evil. Bad meats will ſcarce breed good nouriſhment in the healthieſt concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a diſcreet and judicious reader ſerve in many reſpects to diſcover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illuſtrate. Whereof what better witneſs can ye expect I ſhould produce, than one of your own now ſitting in parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr. Selden; whoſe volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquiſite reaſons and theorems almoſt mathematically demonſtrative, that all opinions, yea errours, known, read, and collated, are of main ſervice and aſſiſtance toward the ſpeedy attainment of what is trueſt. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the univerſal diet of man's body (ſaving ever the rules of temperance,) he then alſo, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repaſting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exerciſe his own leading capacity. How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing ſo great a truſt without particular law or preſcription,

wholly

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wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himſelf tabled the Jews from Heaven, that omer, which was every man's daily portion of manna, is computed to have been more than might have well ſufficed the heartieſt feeder thrice as many meals. For thoſe actions which enter into a man, rather than iſſue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uſes not to captivate under a perpetual childhood of preſcription, but truſts him with the gift of reaſon to be his own chooſer; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulſion ſhould grow ſo faſt upon thoſe things which heretofore were governed only by exhortation. Solomon informs us, that much reading is a wearineſs to the fleſh; but neither he, nor other inſpired author tells us that ſuch or ſuch reading is unlawful; yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, than what was wearisome. As for the burning of thoſe Epheſian books by St. Paul's converts; it is replied, the books were magic, the Syriac ſo renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorſe burnt thoſe books which were their own; the magiſtrate by this example is not appointed: theſe men practiſed the books, another might perhaps have read them in ſome ſort uſefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almoſt inſeparably; and the knowledge of good is ſo involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in ſo many cunning reſemblances hardly to be diſcerned, that thoſe confuſed ſeeds which were impoſed upon Pſyche as an inceſſant labour to cull out, and ſort aſunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple taſted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to ſay of knowing good by evil. As therefore the ſtate of man now is; what wiſdom can there be to chooſe, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and conſider vice with all her baits and ſeeming pleaſures, and yet abſtain, and yet diſtinguiſh, and yet prefer,

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prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Chriſtian. I cannot praiſe a fugitive and cloiſtered virtue unexerciſed, and unbreathed, that never ſallies out and ſees her adverſary, but ſlinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without duſt and heat. Aſſuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmoſt that vice promiſes to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteneſs is but an excremental whiteneſs; which was the reaſon why our ſage and ſerious poet Spenſer, (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,) deſcribing true temperance under the perſon of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bower of earthly bliſs, that he might ſee and know, and yet abſtain. Since therefore the knowledge and ſurvey of vice is in this world ſo neceſſary to the conſtituting of human virtue and the ſcanning of errour to the confirmation of truth, how can we more ſafely, and with leſs danger ſcout into the regions of ſin and falſity, than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reaſon? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiſcuouſly read. But of the harm that may reſult hence, three kinds are uſually reckoned. Firſt, is feared the infection that may ſpread; but then, all human learning and controverſy in religious points muſt remove out of the world, yea, the Bible itſelf; for that oftimes relates blaſphemy not nicely, it deſcribes the carnal ſenſe of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holieſt men paſſionately murmuring againſt providence through all the arguments of Epicurus; in other great diſputes it anſwers dubiouſly and darkly to the common reader; and aſk a Talmudiſt what ails the modeſty of his marginal Keri, that Moſes and all the prophets cannot perſuade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For theſe cauſes we all know the Bible itſelf put by the papiſt into the firſt rank of prohibited books. The ancienteſt fathers muſt be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria, and

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and that Euſebian book of evangelic preparation, tranſmitting our ears through a hoard of heatheniſh obſcenities to receive the goſpel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerom, and others diſcover more hereſies than they well confute, and that oft for hereſy which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to ſay for theſe, and all the heathen writers of greateſt infection if it muſt be thought ſo, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, ſo long as we are ſure thoſe languages are known as well to the worſt of men, who are both moſt able, and moſt diligent to inſtil the poiſon they ſuck, firſt into the courts of princes, acquainting them with the choiceſt delights, and criticiſms of ſin. As perhaps did that Petronius, whom Nero called his arbiter, the maſter of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo, dreaded and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him for poſterity's ſake, whom Henry the eighth named in merriment his vicar of Hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuſe will find a paſſage to the people far eaſier and ſhorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be ſailed either by the north of Cataio eaſtward, or of Canada weſtward, while our Spaniſh licenſing gags the Engliſh preſs never ſo ſeverely. But on the other ſide, that infection which is from books of controverſy in religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned, than to the ignorant; and yet thoſe books muſt be permitted untouched by the licenſer. It will be hard to inſtance where any ignorant man hath been ever ſeduced by any papiſtical book in Engliſh, unleſs it were commended and expounded to him by ſome of that clergy; and indeed all ſuch tractates, whether falſe or true, are as the prophecy of Iſaiah was to the eunuch, not to be "underſtood without a guide." But of our prieſts and doctors how many have been corrupted by ſtudying the comments of Jeſuits and Sorboniſts, and how faſt they could transfuſe that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and ſad. It is not forgot, ſince the acute and diſtinct Arminius was perverted merely by the peruſing of a nameleſs diſcourſe written at Delft, which at firſt he took in hand to confute.

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fute. Seeing therefore that thoſe books, and thoſe in great abundance which are likelieſt to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be ſuppreſſed without the fall of learning, and of all ability in diſputation, and that theſe books of either ſort are moſt and ſooneſt catching to the learned, (from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or diſſolute may quickly be conveyed,) and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thouſand other ways which cannot be ſtopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might alſo do without writing, and ſo beyond prohibiting; I am not unable to unfold, how this cautelous enterpriſe of licenſing can be exempted from the number of vain and impoſſible attempts. And he who were pleaſantly diſpoſed, could not well avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man, who thought to pound up the crows by ſhutting his park gate. Beſides another inconvenience, if learned men be the firſt receivers out of books, and diſpreaders both of vice and errour, how ſhall the licenſers themſelves be confided in, unleſs we can confer upon them, or they aſſume to themſelves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptedneſs? And again, if it be true, that a wiſe man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the droſſieſt volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the beſt book, yea, or without book; there is no reaſon that we ſhould deprive a wiſe man of any advantage to his wiſdom, while we ſeek to reſtrain from a fool that which being reſtrained will be no hinderance to his folly. For if there ſhould be ſo much exactneſs always uſed to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we ſhould in the judgment of Ariſtotle not only, but of Solomon, and of our Saviour, not vouchſafe him good precepts, and by conſequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wiſe man will make better uſe of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of ſacred ſcripture.

It is next alleged, we muſt not expoſe ourſelves to temptations without neceſſity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both theſe objections one anſwer will ſerve, out of the grounds already laid,

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that to all men ſuch books are not temptations, nor vanities; but uſeful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compoſe effective and ſtrong medicines, which man's life cannot want. The reſt, as children and childiſh men, who have not the art to qualify and prepare theſe working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hindered forcibly they cannot be, by all the licenſing that ſainted inquiſition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promiſed to deliver next: that this order of licenſing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed; and hath almoſt prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of truth, who, when ſhe gets a free and willing hand, opens herſelf faſter than the pace of method and diſcourſe can overtake her. It was the taſk which I began with, to ſhow that no nation, or well inſtituted ſtate, if they valued books at all, did ever uſe this way of licenſing; and it might be anſwered, that this is a piece of prudence lately diſcovered. To which I return, that as it was a thing ſlight and obvious to think on, ſo if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long ſince, who ſuggeſted ſuch a courſe; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgment that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cauſe of their not uſing it. Plato, a man of high authority indeed, but leaſt of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his laws, which no city ever yet received, fed his fancy with making many edicts to his airy burgomaſters, which they who otherwiſe admire him with had been rather buried and excuſed in the genial cups of an academic night ſitting. By which laws he ſeems to tolerate no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, conſiſting moſt of practical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of ſmaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant. And there alſo enacts, that no poet ſhould ſo much as read to any private man what he had written, until the judges and law keepers had ſeen it, and allowed it; but that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not elſe a lawgiver to himſelf, but a tranſgreſſor, and to be expelled

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expelled by his own magiſtrates, both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron, Mimus, and Ariſtophanes, books of groſſeſt infamy; and alſo for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the tyrant Dionyſius, who had little need of ſuch traſh to ſpend his time on? But that he knew this licenſing of poems had reference and dependance to many other proviſoes there ſet down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place; and ſo neither he himſelf, nor any magiſtrate or city ever imitated that courſe, which taken apart from thoſe other collateral injunctions muſt needs be vain and fruitleſs. For if they fell upon one kind of ſtrictneſs, unleſs their care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptneſs to corrupt the mind, that ſingle endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to ſhut and fortify one gate againſt corruption, and be neceſſitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we muſt regulate all recreations and paſtimes, all that is delightful to man. No muſic muſt be heard, no ſong be ſet or ſung but what is grave and doric. There muſt be licenſing dancers, that no geſture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth, but what by their allowance ſhall be thought honeſt; for ſuch Plato was provided of. It will aſk more than the work of twenty licenſers to examine all the lutes, the violins, and the guitars in every houſe; they muſt not be ſuffered to prattle as they do, but muſt be licenſed what they may ſay. And who ſhall ſilence all the airs and madrigals that whiſper ſoftneſs in chambers? The windows alſo, and the balconies muſt be thought on; there are ſhrewd books, with dangerous frontiſpieces, ſet to ſale; who ſhall prohibit them, ſhall twenty licenſers? The villages alſo muſt have their viſitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe, and the rebec reads, even to the ballatry and the gamut of every muncipal fidler; for theſe are the countryman's Arcadias, and his Monte Mayors. Next, what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than houſehold gluttony; who ſhall be the rectors of our daily

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daily rioting? And what ſhall be done to inhibit the multitudes, that frequent thoſe houſes where drunkenneſs is ſold and harboured? Our garments alſo ſhould be referred to the licenſing of ſome more ſober workmaſters, to ſee them cut into a leſs wanton garb. Who ſhall regulate all the mixed converſation of our youth, male and female together, as is the faſhion of this country? Who, ſhall ſtill appoint what ſhall be diſcourſed, what preſumed, and no further? Laſtly, who ſhall forbid and ſeparate all idle reſort, all evil company? Theſe things will be, and muſt be; but how they ſhall be leaſt hurtful, how leaſt enticing, herein conſiſts the grave and governing wiſdom of a ſtate. To ſequeſter out of the world into Atlantic and Eutopian politics, which never can be drawn into uſe, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wiſely as in this world of evil, in the midſt whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licenſing of books will do this, which neceſſarily pulls along with it ſo many other kinds of licenſing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet fruſtrate; but thoſe unwritten, or at leaſt unconſtraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the commonwealth, the pillars and the ſuſtainers of every written ſtatute; theſe they be, which will bear chief ſway in ſuch matters as theſe, when all licenſing will be eaſily eluded. Impunity and remiſſneſs for certain are the bane of a commonwealth; but here the great art lies, to diſcern in what the law is to bid reſtraint and puniſhment, and in what things perſuaſion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years were to be under pittance, preſcription, and compulſion, what were virtue but a name, what praiſe could be then due to well doing, what gramercy to be ſober, juſt, or continent? Many there be that complain of divine providence for ſuffering Adam to tranſgreſs. Fooliſh tongues! when God gave him reaſon, he gave him freedom to chooſe, for reaſon is but chooſing; he had been elſe a mere artificial Adam, ſuch an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourſelves eſteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore



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left him free, ſet before him a provoking object, ever almoſt in his eyes; herein conſiſted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praiſe of his abſtinence. Wherefore did he create paſſions within us, pleaſures round about us, but that theſe rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue? They are not ſkilful conſiderers of human things, who imagine to remove ſin, by removing the matter of ſin; for, beſides that it is a huge heap increaſing under the very act of diminiſhing, though ſome part of it may for a time be withdrawn from ſome perſons, it cannot from all, in ſuch a univerſal thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the ſin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treaſure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetouſneſs. Baniſh all objects of luſt, ſhut up all youth into the ſevereſt diſcipline that can be exerciſed in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaſte, that came not thither ſo: ſuch great care and wiſdom is required to the right managing of this point. Suppoſe we could expel ſin by this means; look how much we thus expel of ſin, ſo much we expel of virtue: for the matter of them both is the ſame: remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This juſtifies the high providence of God, who, though he commands us temperance, juſtice, continence, yet pours out before us even to a profuſeneſs all deſirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and ſatiety. Why ſhould we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or ſcanting thoſe means, which books, freely permitted, are both to the trial of virtue, and the exerciſe of truth? It would be better done, to learn that the law muſt needs be frivolous, which goes to reſtrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evil. And were I the chooſer, a dram of well doing ſhould be preferred before many times as much the forcible hinderance of evil doing. For God ſure eſteems the growth and completing of one virtuous perſon, more than the reſtraint of ten vicious. And albeit, whatever thing we hear or ſee, ſitting, walking, travelling, or converſing, may be fitly called our book, and is of the ſame effect that writings are; yet grant the thing to be prohibited

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were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far inſufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not ſee, not once or oftener, but weekly, that continued court-libel againſt the parliament and city, printed, as the wet ſheets can witneſs, and diſperſed among us for all that licenſing can do? Yet this is the prime ſervice a man would think wherein this order ſhould give proof of itſelf. If it were executed, you will ſay. But certain, if execution be remiſs or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books? If then the order ſhall not be vain and fruſtrate, behold a new labour, lords and commons, ye muſt repeal and proſcribe all ſcandalous and unlicenſed books already printed and divulged: after ye have drawn them up into a liſt, that all may know which are condemned, and which not; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out of cuſtody, till they have been read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overſeers, and thoſe no vulgar men. There be alſo books which are partly uſeful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will aſk as many more officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the commonwealth of learning be not damnified. In fine, when the multitude of books increaſe upon their hands, ye muſt be fain to catalogue all thoſe printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the importation of their whole ſuſpected typography. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye muſt reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and Sevil, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye ſhould condeſcend to this, which God forbid, the order ſtill would be but fruitleſs and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent ſects and ſchiſms, who is ſo unread or uncatechiſed in ſtory, that hath not heard of many ſects refuſing books as a hinderance, and preſerving their doctrine unmixed for many ages, only by unwritten traditions? The chriſtian faith, (for that was once a ſchiſm!) is not unknown to have ſpread all over Aſia, ere any goſpel or epiſtle was ſeen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether thoſe places be one ſcruple the better, the ho-



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neſter, the wiſer, the chaſter, ſince all the inquiſitional rigour that hath been executed upon books.

Another reaſon, whereby to make it plain that this order will miſs the end it ſeeks, conſider by the quality which ought to be in every licenſer. It cannot be denied, but that he who is made judge to ſit upon the birth or death of books, whether they may be waſted into this world or not, had need to be a man above the common meaſure, both ſtudious, learned, and judicious; there may be elſe no mean miſtakes in the cenſure of what is paſſable or not; which is alſo no mean injury. If he be of ſuch worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleaſing journeywork, a greater loſs of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchoſen books and pamphlets, oftimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable, unleſs at certain ſeaſons; but to be enjoined the reading of that at all times, and in a hand ſcarce legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the faireſt print, is an impoſition which I cannot believe how he that values time, and his own ſtudies, or is but of a ſenſible noſtril, ſhould be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the preſent licenſers to be pardoned for ſo thinking; who doubtleſs took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the parliament, whoſe command perhaps made all things ſeem eaſy and unlaborious to them; but that this ſhort trial hath wearied them out already, their own expreſſions and excuſes to them, who make ſo many journeys to ſolicit their licence, are teſtimony enough. Seeing therefore thoſe, who now poſſeſs the employment, by all evident ſigns wiſh themſelves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours, is ever likely to ſucceed them, except he mean to put himſelf to the ſalary of a preſs corrector, we may eaſily foreſee what kind of licenſers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiſs, or baſely pecuniary. This is what I had to ſhow, wherein this order cannot conduce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I laſtly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifeſt hurt it cauſes, in being firſt the greateſt diſcouragement

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ment and affront that can be offered to learning, and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates, upon every leaſt breath of a motion to remove pluralities, and diſtribute more equally church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever daſhed and diſcouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cauſe to think, that the tenth part of learning ſtood or fell with the clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a fordid and unworthy ſpeech of any churchman, who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to diſhearten utterly and diſcontent, not the mercenary crew of falſe pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous ſort of ſuch as evidently were born to ſtudy and love learning for itſelf, not for lucre, or any other end, but the ſervice of God and of truth, and perhaps that laſting fame and perpetuity of praiſe, which God and good men have conſented ſhall be the reward of thoſe, whoſe publiſhed labours advance the good of mankind: then know, that ſo far to diſtruſt the judgment and the honeſty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, leſt he ſhould drop a ſchiſm, or ſomething of corruption, is the greateſt diſpleaſure and indignity to a free and knowing ſpirit, that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man, over it is to be a boy at ſchool, if we have only eſcaped the ferula, to come under the feſcue of an Imprimatur? If ſerious and elaborate writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar-lad under his pedagogue, muſt not be uttered without the curſory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenſer? He who is not truſted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and ſtanding to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himſelf reputed in the commonwealth wherein he was born for other than a fool or a foreigner. When a man writes to the world, he ſummons up all his reaſon and deliberation to aſſiſt him; he ſearches, meditates, is induſtrious, and likely conſults and conſers with his judicious friends; after all which done, he takes himſelf to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the moſt



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conſummate act of his fidelity and ripeneſs, no years, no induſtry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that ſtate of maturity, as not to be ſtill miſtruſted and ſuſpected, unleſs he carry all his conſiderate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expenſe of Palladian oil, to the haſty view of an unleiſured licenſer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of bookwriting; and if he be not repulſed, or ſlighted, muſt appear in print like a puny with his guardian, and his cenſor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and ſurety, that he is no ideot or ſeducer; it cannot be but a diſhonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning. And what if the author ſhall be one ſo copious of fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licenſing, while the book is yet under the preſs, which not ſeldom happens to the beſt and diligenteſt writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The printer dares not go beyond his licenſed copy; ſo often then muſt the author trudge to his leave-giver, that thoſe his new inſertions may be viewed; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenſer, for it muſt be the ſame man, can either be found, or found at leiſure; mean while either the preſs muſt ſtand ſtill, which is no ſmall damage, or the author loſe his accurateſt thoughts, and ſend the book forth worſe than he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greateſt melancholy and vexation that can befal. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a doctor in his book as he ought to be, or elſe had better be ſilent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenſer, to blot or alter what preciſely accords not with the hide-bound humour which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the firſt ſight of a pedantic licence, will be ready with theſe like words to ding the book a coit's diſtance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an inſtructor that comes to me under the wardſhip of an overſeeing fiſt. I know nothing of the licenſer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance;

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arrogance; who ſhall warrant me his judgment? The ſtate, ſir, replies the ſtationer: but has a quick return, the ſtate ſhall be my governors, but not my critics; they may be miſtaken in the choice of a licenſer, as eaſily as this licenſer may be miſtaken in an author. This is ſome common ſtuff; and he might add from ſir Francis Bacon, that "ſuch authorized books are but the language of the times." For though a licenſer ſhould happen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next ſucceſſion, yet his very office, and his commiſſion enjoins him to let paſs nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceaſed author, though never ſo famous in his lifetime, and even to this day, comes to their hands for licence to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his book one ſentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine ſpirit?) yet not ſuiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himſelf, the reformer of a kingdom that ſpake it, they will not pardon him their daſh; the ſenſe of that great man ſhall to all poſterity be loſt, for the fearfulneſs, or the preſumptuous raſhneſs of a perfunctory licenſer. And to what an author this violence hath been lately done, and in what book of greateſt conſequence to be faithfully publiſhed, I could now inſtance, but ſhall forbear till a more convenient ſeaſon. Yet if theſe things be not reſented ſeriouſly and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that ſuch ironmoulds as theſe ſhall have authority to gnaw out the choiceſt periods of exquiſiteſt books, and to commit ſuch a treacherous fraud againſt the orphan remainders of worthieſt men after death, the more ſorrow will belong to that hapleſs race of men, whoſe misfortune it is to have underſtanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wiſe; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and ſlothful, to be a common ſteadfaſt dunce, will be the only pleaſant life, and only in requeſt.

And as it is a particular diſeſteem of every knowing perſon alive, and moſt injurious to the written labours



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and monuments of the dead, ſo to me it ſeems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole nation. I cannot ſet ſo light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and ſolid judgment which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good ſoever; much leſs that it ſhould not paſs except their ſuperintendence be over it, except it be ſifted and ſtrained with their ſtrainers, that it ſhould be uncurrent without their manual ſtamp. Truth and underſtanding are not ſuch wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets, and ſtatutes, and ſtandards. We muſt not think to make a ſtaple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and licenſe it like our broad cloth and our woolpacks. What is it but a ſervitude like that impoſed by the Philiſtines, not to be allowed the ſharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we muſt repair from all quarters to twenty licenſing forges? Had any one written and divulged erroneous things and ſcandalous to honeſt life, miſuſing and forfeiting the eſteem had of his reaſon among men, if after conviction this only cenſure were adjudged him, that he ſhould never henceforth write, but what were firſt examined by an appointed officer, whoſe hand ſhould be annexed to paſs his credit for him, that now he might be ſafely read; it could not be apprehended leſs than a diſgraceful puniſhment. Whence to include the whole nation, and thoſe that never yet thus offended, under ſuch a diffident and ſuſpectful prohibition, may plainly be underſtood what a diſparagement it is. So much the more whenas debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffenſive books muſt not ſtir forth without a viſible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people leſs than a reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, as that we dare not truſt them with an Engliſh pamphlet, what do we but cenſure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people; in ſuch a ſick and weak eſtate of faith and diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenſer? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in thoſe popiſh places, where the laity are moſt hated and deſpiſed, the ſame ſtrictneſs is uſed over them. Wiſdom we cannot call it, becauſe it

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ſtops but one breach of licence, nor that neither: whenas thoſe corruptions, which it ſeeks to prevent, break in faſter at other doors, which cannot be ſhut.

And in concluſion it reflects to the diſrepute of our miniſters alſo, of whoſe labours we ſhould hope better, and of their proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the goſpel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented with ſuch an unprincipled, unedified, and laic rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet ſhould ſtagger them out of their catechiſm and chriſtian walking. This may have much reaſon to diſcourage the miniſters, when ſuch a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned looſe to three ſheets of paper without a licenſer; that all the ſermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vended in ſuch numbers, and ſuch volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unſaleable, ſhould not be armour enough againſt one ſingle Enchiridion, without the caſtle of St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

And leſt ſome ſhould perſuade ye, lords and commons, that theſe arguments of learned men's diſcouragement at this your order are mere flouriſhes, and not real, I could recount what I have ſeen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquiſition tyrannizes; when I have ſat among their learned men, (for that honour I had,) and been counted happy to be born in ſuch a place of philoſophic freedom, as they ſuppoſed England was, while themſelves did nothing but bemoan the ſervile condition into which learning amongſt them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been there written now theſe many years but flattery and fuſtian. There it was that I found and viſited the famous Galileo grown old, a priſoner to the inquiſition, for thinking in aſtronomy otherwiſe than the franciſcan and dominican licenſers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudeſt under the prelatical yoke, nevertheleſs I took it as a pledge of future happineſs, that other nations were ſo perſuaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope,

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that

that thoſe worthies were then breathing in her air, who ſhould be her leaders to ſuch a deliverance, as ſhall never be forgotten by any revolution of time that this world hath to finiſh. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered againſt the inquiſition, the ſame I ſhould hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of parliament againſt an order of licenſing; and that ſo generally, that when I had diſcloſed myſelf a companion of their diſcontent, I might ſay, if without envy, that he whom an honeſt quæſtorſhip had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned againſt Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and reſpected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perſuaſions, that I would not deſpair to lay together that which juſt reaſon ſhould bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeſerved thraldom upon learning. That this is not therefore the diſburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all thoſe who had prepared their minds and ſtudies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may ſatisfy. And in their name I ſhall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is; that if it come to inquiſitioning again, and licenſing, and that we are ſo timorous of ourſelves, and ſuſpicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the ſhaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if ſome who but of late were little better than ſilenced from preaching, ſhall come now to ſilence us from reading, except what they pleaſe, it cannot be gueſſed what is intended by ſome but a ſecond tyranny over learning: and will ſoon put it out of controverſy, that biſhops and preſbyters are the ſame to us both name and thing. That thoſe evils of prelaty which before from five or ſix and twenty ſees were diſtributively charged upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obſcure to us: whenas now the paſtor of a ſmall unlearned pariſh, on the ſudden ſhall be exalted archbiſhop over a large dioceſe of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a myſtical pluraliſt.

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pluraliſt. He who but of late cried down the ſole ordination of every novice bachelor of art, and denied ſole juriſdiction over the ſimpleſt pariſhioner, ſhall now at home in his private chair aſſume both theſe over worthieſt and excelleneſt books, and ableſt authors that write them. This is not, ye covenants and proteſtations that we have made! this is not to put down prelaty; this is but to chop an epiſcopacy; this is but to tranſlate the palace metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical ſlight of commuting our penance. To ſtartle thus betimes at a mere unlicenſed pamphlet, will, after a while, be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every chriſtian meeting. But I am certain, that a ſtate governed by the rules of juſtice and fortitude, or a church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be ſo puſillanimous. While things are yet not conſtituted in religion, that freedom of writing ſhould be reſtrained by a diſcipline imitated from the prelates, and learned by them from the inquiſition to ſhut us up all again into the breaſt of a licenſer, muſt needs give cauſe of doubt and diſcouragement to all learned and religious men: who cannot but diſcern the fineneſs of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while biſhops were to be baited down, then all preſſes might be open; it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of parliament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the biſhops abrogated and voided out of the church, as if our reformation ſought no more, but to make room for others into their ſeats under another name; the epiſcopal arts begin to bud again; the cruiſe of truth muſt run no more oil; liberty of printing muſt be enthralled again under a prelatical commiſſion of twenty; the privilege of the people nullified; and which is worſe, the freedom of learning muſt groan again, and to her old fetters: all this the parliament yet ſitting. Although their own late arguments and defences againſt the prelates might remember them, that this obſtructing violence meets for the moſt part with an event utterly oppoſite to the end which it drives at: inſtead of ſuppreſſing ſects and ſchiſms, it raiſes them

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and inveſts them with a reputation: "the puniſhing of wits enhances their authority," ſaith the viſcount St. Albans; "and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain ſpark of truth, that flies up in the faces of them who ſeek to tread it out." This order therefore may prove a nurſing mother to ſects, but I ſhall eaſily ſhow how it will be a ſtepdame to truth: and firſt by diſenabling us to the maintainance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uſes to conſider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exerciſe, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in ſcripture to a ſtreaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progreſſion, they ſicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only becauſe his paſtor ſays ſo, or the aſſembly ſo determines, without knowing other reaſon, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his hereſy. There is not any burden, that ſome would gladlier poſt off to another, than the charge and care of their religion. There be, who knows not that there be of proteſtants and profeſſors, who live and die in as errant and implicit faith, as any lay papiſt of Loretto. A wealthy man, addicted to his pleaſure and to his profits, finds religion to be a traffic ſo entangled, and of ſo many piddling accounts, that of all myſteries he cannot ſkill to keep a ſtock going upon that trade. What ſhould he do? Fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but reſolves to give over toiling, and to find himſelf out ſome factor, to whoſe care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; ſome divine of note and eſtimation that muſt be. To him he adheres, reſigns the whole warehouſe of his religion, with all the locks and keys into his cuſtody; and indeed makes the very perſon of that man his religion; eſteems his aſſociating with him a ſufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may ſay his religion is now no more within himſelf, but is become a dividual movable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the houſe. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feaſts him,

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him, lodges him; his religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally ſupped, and ſumptuouſly laid to ſleep; riſes, is ſaluted, and after the malmſey, or ſome well-ſpiced bruage, and better breakfaſted, than he whoſe morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jeruſalem, his religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the ſhop trading all day without his religion.

Another ſort there be, who when they hear that all things ſhall be ordered, all things regulated and ſettled; nothing written but what paſſes through the cuſtomhouſe of certain publicans that have the tonnaging and poundaging of all freeſpoken truth; will ſtraight give themſelves up into your hands, make them and cut them out what religion ye pleaſe: there be delights, there be recreations and jolly paſtimes, that will fetch the day about from ſun to ſun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken ſo ſtrictly, and ſo unalterably into their own purveying? Theſe are the fruits, which a dull eaſe and ceſſation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wiſhed were ſuch an obedient unanimity as this? What a fine conformity would it ſtarch us all into? Doubtleſs a ſtaunch and ſolid piece of framework, as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the conſequence even among the clergy themſelves: it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochial miniſter, who has his reward, and is at his Hercules pillars in a warm benefice, to be eaſily inclinable, if he have nothing elſe that may rouſe up his ſtudies, to finiſh his circuit in an Engliſh Concordance and a topic folio, the gatherings and ſavings of a ſober graduateſhip, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the conſtant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with their uſes, motives, marks and means; out of which, as out of an alphabet or ſol fa, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variouſly, a little bookcraft, and two hours meditation, might furniſh him unſpeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of ſermoning: not to reckon up the infinite helps of

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of interliniaries, breviaries, ſynopſes, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of ſermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. Thomas in his veſtry, and add to boot St. Martin and St. Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all ſorts ready made: ſo that penury he never need fear of pulpit proviſion, having where ſo plenteouſly to refreſh his magazine. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled, if his back door be not ſecured by the rigid licenſer, but that a bold book may now and then iſſue forth, and give the aſſault to ſome of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to ſtand in watch, to ſet good guards and ſentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inſpectors, fearing leſt any of his flock be ſeduced, who alſo then would be better inſtructed, better exerciſed and diſciplined. And God ſend that the fear of this diligence, which muſt then be uſed, do not make us affect the lazineſs of a licenſing church!

For if we be ſure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourſelves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout; what can be more fair, than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conſcience, for aught we know as good as theirs that taught us what we know, ſhall not privily from houſe to houſe, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publiſh to the world what his opinion is, what his reaſons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be ſound? Chriſt urged it as wherewith to juſtify himſelf that he preached in public; yet writing is more public than preaching; and more eaſy to refutation if need be, there being ſo many whoſe buſineſs and profeſſion merely it is to be the champions of truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their ſloth or unability?

Thus much we are hindered and diſinured by this courſe of licenſing toward the true knowledge of what we ſeem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licenſers themſelves in the calling of their miniſtry,

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more than any ſecular employment, if they will diſcharge that office as they ought, ſo that of neceſſity they muſt neglect either the one duty or the other; I inſiſt not, becauſe it is a particular, but leave it to their own conſcience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpoſed to lay open, the incredible loſs and detriment that this plot of licenſing puts us to, more than if ſome enemy at ſea ſhould ſtop up all our havens, and ports, and creeks; it hinders and retards the importation of our richeſt merchandize, truth: nay, it was firſt eſtabliſhed and put in practice by antichriſtian malice and myſtery on ſet purpoſe to extinguiſh, if it were poſſible, the light of reformation, and to ſettle falſehood; little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran, by the prohibiting of printing. It is not denied, but gladly confeſſed, we are to ſend our thanks and vows to Heaven, louder than moſt of nations, for that great meaſure of truth which we enjoy, eſpecially in thoſe main points between us and the pope, with his appurtenances the prelates: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmoſt proſpect of reformation, that the mortal glaſs wherein we contemplate can ſhow us, till we come to beatific viſion; that man by this very opinion declares, that he is yet far ſhort of truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine maſter, and was a perfect ſhape moſt glorious to look on: but when he aſcended, and his apoſtles after him were laid aſleep, then ſtraight aroſe a wicked race of deceivers, who as that ſtory goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conſpirators, how they dealt with the good Oſyris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thouſand pieces, and ſcattered them to the four winds. From that time ever ſince, the ſad friends of Truth, ſuch as durſt appear, imitating the careful ſearch that Iſis made for the mangled body of Oſiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb ſtill as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, lords and commons, nor ever ſhall do, till her maſter's ſecond coming; he ſhall bring together every joint and member, and ſhall mould them into an immortal feature of lovelineſs

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lineſs and perfection. Suffer not theſe licenſing prohibitions to ſtand at every place of opportunity forbidding and diſturbing them that continue ſeeking, that continue to do our obſequies to the torn body of our martyred ſaint. We boaſt our light; but if we look not wiſely on the ſun itſelf, it ſmites us into darkneſs. Who can diſcern thoſe planets that are oft combuſt, and thoſe ſtars of brighteſt magnitude that riſe and ſet with the ſun, until the oppoſite motion of their orbs bring them to ſuch a place in the firmament, where they may be ſeen evening or morning? The light which we have gained, was given us, not to be ever ſtaring on, but by it to diſcover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a prieſt, the unmitring of a biſhop, and the removing him from off the preſbyterian ſhoulders, that will make us a happy nation; no, if other things as great in the church, and in the rule of life both œconomical and political be not looked into and reformed, we have looked ſo long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin have beaconed up to us, that we are ſtark blind. There be who perpetually complain of ſchiſms and ſects, and make it ſuch a calamity, that any man diſſents from their maxims. It is their own pride and ignorance which cauſes the diſturbing, who neither will hear with meekneſs, nor can convince, yet all muſt be ſuppreſſed which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite thoſe diſſevered pieces, which are yet wanting to the body of truth. To be ſtill ſearching what we know not, by what we know, ſtill cloſing up truth to truth as we find it, (for all her body is homogeneal, and proportional) this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the beſt harmony in a church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and commons of England! conſider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not ſlow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing ſpirit; acute to invent, ſubtile and ſinewy to diſcourſe, not beneath the reach of any point

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point the higheſt that human capacity can ſoar to. Therefore the ſtudies of learning in her deepeſt ſciences have been ſo ancient, and ſo eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and able judgment have been perſuaded, that even the ſchool of Pythagoras, and the Perſian wiſdom, took beginning from the old philoſophy of this iſland. And that wiſe and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Cæſar, preferred the natural wits of Britain, before the laboured ſtudies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Tranſilvanian ſends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Ruſſia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderneſs, not their youth, but their ſtaid men, to learn our language, and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why elſe was this nation choſen before any other, that out of her, as out of Sion, ſhould be proclaimed and ſounded forth the firſt tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obſtinate perverſeneſs of our prelates againſt the divine and admirable ſpirit of Wickliff, to ſuppreſs him as a ſchiſmatic and innovator, perhaps, neither the Bohemian Huſſe and Jerom, no nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the lateſt and the backwardeſt ſcholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of ſigns, and by the general inſtinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and ſolemnly expreſs their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin ſome new and great period in his church, even to the reforming of reformation itſelf; what does he then but reveal himſelf to his ſervants, and as his manner is, firſt to his Engliſhmen? I ſay as his manner is, firſt to us, though we mark not the method of his counſels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vaſt city; a city of refuge, the manſion-houſe of liberty, encompaſſed and ſurrounded with his protection; the ſhop of war hath



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not there more anvils and hammers waking, to faſhion out the plates and inſtruments of armed juſtice in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, ſitting by their ſtudious lamps, muſing, ſearching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to preſent, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation: others as faſt reading, trying all things, aſſenting to the force of reaſon and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation ſo pliant and ſo prone to ſeek after knowledge? What wants there to ſuch a towardly and pregnant ſoil, but wiſe and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of ſages, and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harveſt; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much deſire to learn, there of neceſſity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under theſe fantaſtic terrours of ſect and ſchiſm, we wrong the earneſt and zealous thirſt after knowledge and underſtanding, which God hath ſtirred up in this city. What ſome lament of, we rather ſhould rejoice at, ſhould rather praiſe this pious forwardneſs among men, to reaſſume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and ſome grain of charity might win all theſe diligencies to join and unite into one general and brotherly ſearch after truth; could we but forego this prelatical tradition of crowding free conſciences and chriſtian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if ſome great and worthy ſtranger ſhould come among us, wiſe to diſcern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, obſerving the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reaſonings in the purſuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring the Roman docility and courage; if ſuch were my Epirots, I would not deſpair the greateſt deſign that could be attempted to make a church or kingdom happy. Yet theſe are the men cried out againſt for ſchiſmatics and ſectaries, as if, while the temple of the Lord was building,

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ſome cutting, ſome ſquaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there ſhould be a ſort of irrational men, who could not conſider there muſt be many ſchiſms and many diſſections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the houſe of God can be built. And when every ſtone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world: neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay rather the perfection conſiſts in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly diſſimilitudes that are not vaſtly diſproportional, ariſes the goodly and the graceful ſymmetry that commends the whole pile and ſtructure. Let us therefore be more conſiderate builders, more wiſe in ſpiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time ſeems come, wherein Moſes the great prophet may ſit in Heaven rejoicing to ſee that memorable and glorious wiſh of his fulfilled, when not only our ſeventy elders, but all the Lord's people are become prophets. No marvel then though ſome men, and ſome good men too perhaps, but young in goodneſs, as Joſhua then was, envy them. They fret and out of their own weakneſs are in agony, leſt theſe diviſions and ſubdiviſions will undo us. The adverſary again applauds, and waits the hour; when they have branched themſelves out, ſaith he, ſmall enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he ſees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will beware until he ſee our ſmall divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all theſe ſuppoſed ſects and ſchiſms, and that we ſhall not need that ſolicitude, honeſt perhaps, though overtimorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but ſhall laugh in the end at thoſe malicious applauders of our differences, I have theſe reaſons to perſuade me.

Firſt, when a city ſhall be as it were beſieged and blocked about, her navigable river infeſted, inroads and incurſions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up, even to her walls and ſuburb trenches; that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the ſtudy of higheſt

and moſt important matters to be reformed, ſhould be diſputing, reaſoning, reading, inventing, diſcourſing, even to a rarity and admiration, things not before diſcourſed or written of, argues firſt a ſingular good will, contentedneſs and confidence in your prudent foreſight, and ſafe government, lords and commons; and from thence derives itſelf to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no ſmall number of as great ſpirits among us, as his was who when Rome was nigh beſieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himſelf encamped his own regiment. Next, it is a lively and cheerful preſage of our happy ſucceſs and victory. For as in a body when the blood is freſh, the ſpirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and thoſe in the acuteſt, and the perfect operations of wit and ſubtlety, it argues in what good plight and conſtitution the body is; ſo when the cheerfulneſs of the people is ſo ſprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and ſafety, but to ſpare, and to beſtow upon the ſolideſt and ſublimeſt points of controverſy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, by caſting off the old and wrinkled ſkin of corruption to outlive theſe pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and proſperous virtue, deſtined to become great and honourable in theſe latter ages. Methinks I ſee in my mind a noble and puiſſant nation rouſing herſelf like a ſtrong man after ſleep, and ſhaking her invincible locks: methinks I ſee her as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unſcaling her long abuſed ſight at the fountain itſelf of heavenly radiance; while the whole noiſe of timorous and flocking birds, with thoſe alſo that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what ſhe means, and in their envious gabble would prognoſticate a year of ſects and ſchiſms.

What ſhould ye do then, ſhould ye ſuppreſs all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light ſprung up and yet ſpringing daily in this city? Should ye ſet an oli-

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garchy of twenty engroſſers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we ſhall know nothing but what is meaſured to us by their buſhel? Believe it, lords and commons! they who counſel ye to ſuch a ſuppreſſing, do as good as bid ye ſuppreſs yourſelves; and I will ſoon ſhow how. If it be deſired to know the immediate cauſe of all this free writing and free ſpeaking, there cannot be aſſigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counſels have purchaſed us; liberty which is the nurſe of all great wits: this is that which hath rarified and enlightened our ſpirits like the influence of Heaven; this is that which hath enfranchiſed, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehenſions degrees above themſelves. Ye cannot make us now leſs capable, leſs knowing, leſs eagerly purſuing of the truth, unleſs ye firſt make yourſelves, that made us ſo, leſs the lovers, leſs the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutiſh, formal, and ſlaviſh, as ye found us; but you then muſt firſt become that which ye cannot be, oppreſſive, arbitrary and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the ſearch and expectation of greateſt and exacteſt things, is the iſſue of your own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot ſuppreſs that, unleſs ye reinforce an abrogated and mercileſs law, that fathers may diſpatch at will their own children. And who ſhall then ſtick cloſeſt to ye and excite others? Not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I diſpraiſe not the defence of juſt immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conſcience, above all liberties.

What would be beſt adviſed then, if it be found ſo hurtful and ſo unequal to ſuppreſs opinions for the newneſs or the unfuitableneſs to a cuſtomary acceptance, will not be my taſk to ſay; I ſhall only repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not ſacrificed his life and fortunes to the church and commonwealth,



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we had not now miſſed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am ſure; yet I for honour's ſake, and may it be eternal to him, ſhall name him, the lord Brook. He writing of epiſcopacy, and by the way treating of ſects and ſchiſms, left ye his vote, or rather now the laſt words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with ye, ſo full of meekneſs and breathing charity, that next to his laſt teſtament, who bequeathed love and peace to his diſciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility thoſe, however they be miſcalled, that deſire to live purely, in ſuch a uſe of God's ordinances, as the beſt guidance of their conſcience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in ſome diſconformity to ourſelves. The book itſelf will tell us more at large, being publiſhed to the world, and dedicated to the parliament by him, who both for his life and for his death deſerves, that what advice he left be not laid by without peruſal.

And now the time in ſpecial is, by privilege to write and ſpeak what may help to the further diſcuſſing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus with his two controverſal faces might now not unſignificantly be ſet open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let looſe to play upon the earth, ſo truth be in the field, we do injuriouſly by licenſing and prohibiting to miſdoubt her ſtrength. Let her and falſehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worſe, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the beſt and ſureſt ſuppreſſing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clear knowledge to be ſent down among us, would think of other matters to be conſtituted beyond the diſcipline of Geneva, framed and fabricked already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for ſhines in upon us, there be who envy and oppoſe, if it come not firſt in at their caſements. What a colluſion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wiſe man to uſe diligence, "to ſeek for wiſdom as for hidden treaſures" early and late, that another order ſhall enjoin us, to know nothing but by ſtatute? When a man hath been labouring the hardeſt



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labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furniſhed out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reaſons as it were a battle ranged, ſcattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adverſary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and ſun, if he pleaſe, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to ſculk, to lay ambuſhments, to keep a narrow bridge of licenſing where the challenger ſhould paſs, though it be valour enough in ſoldierſhip, is but weakneſs and cowardice in the wars of truth. For who knows not that truth is ſtrong, next to the Almighty; ſhe needs no policies, nor ſtratagems, nor licenſings to make her victorious, thoſe are the ſhifts and the defences that errour uſes againſt her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when ſhe ſleeps, for then ſhe ſpeaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who ſpake oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather ſhe turns herſelf into all ſhapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until ſhe be adjured into her own likeneſs. Yet is it not impoſſible that ſhe may have more ſhapes than one? What elſe is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein truth may be on this ſide, or on the other, without being unlike herſelf? What but a vain ſhadow elſe is the abolition of "thoſe ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the croſs?" what great purchaſe is this chriſtian liberty which Paul ſo often boaſts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conſcience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief ſtrong hold of our hypocriſy to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a ſlaviſh print upon our necks; the ghoſt of a linen decency yet haunts us. We ſtumble, and are impatient at the leaſt dividing of one viſible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardneſs to ſuppreſs, and our backwardneſs to recover, any enthralled piece of truth out of the gripe of cuſtom, we care not to keep truth ſeparated from truth, which is the fierceſt rent and



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diſunion of all. We do not ſee that while we ſtill affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as ſoon fall again into a groſs conforming ſtupidity, a ſtark and dead congealment of "wood and hay and ſtubble" forced and frozen together, which is more to the ſudden degenerating of a church than many ſubdichotomies of petty ſchiſms. Not that I can think well of every light ſeparation; or that all in a church is to be expected "gold and ſilver and precious ſtones:" it is not poſſible for man to ſever the wheat from the tares, the good fiſh from the other fry; that muſt be the angels miniſtry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they ſhould be? this doubtleſs is more wholeſome, more prudent, and more chriſtian, that many be tolerated rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated popery, and open ſuperſtition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil ſupremacies, ſo itſelf ſhould be extirpate, provided firſt that all charitable and compaſſionate means be uſed to win and regain the weak and the miſled: that alſo which is impious or evil abſolutely either againſt faith or manners, no law can poſſibly permit, that intends not to unlaw itſelf: but thoſe neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I ſpeak of, whether in ſome point of doctrine or of diſcipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of ſpirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace. In the mean while, if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the ſlow moving reformation which we labour under, if truth have ſpoken to him before others, or but ſeemed at leaſt to ſpeak, who hath ſo bejeſuited us, that we ſhould trouble that man with aſking licence to do ſo worthy a deed; and not conſider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itſelf: whoſe firſt appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and cuſtom, is more unſightly and unplauſible than many errours; even as the perſon is of many a great man ſlight and contemptible to ſee to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none muſt be heard but whom they like, is the worſt and neweſt opinion of all others;

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others; and is the chief cauſe why ſects and ſchiſms do ſo much abound, and true knowledge is kept at diſtance from us; beſides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God ſhakes a kingdom, with ſtrong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many ſectaries and falſe teachers are then buſieſt in ſeducing. But yet more true it is, that God then raiſes to his own work men of rare abilities, and more than common induſtry, not only to look back and reviſe what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further, and to go on ſome new enlightened ſteps in the diſcovery of truth. For ſuch is the order of God's enlightening his Church, to diſpenſe and deal out by degrees his beam, ſo as our earthly eyes may beſt ſuſtain it. Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place theſe his choſen ſhall be firſt heard to ſpeak; for he ſees not as man ſees, chooſes not as man chooſes; leſt we ſhould devote ourſelves again to ſet places, and aſſemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old convocation houſe, and another while in the chapel at Weſtminſter; when all the faith and religion that ſhall be there canonized, is not ſufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient inſtruction, to ſupple the leaſt bruiſe of conſcience, to edify the meaneſt chriſtian, who deſires to walk in the ſpirit, and not in the letter of human truſt, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no though Harry the ſeventh himſelf there, with all his liege tombs about him, ſhould lend them voices from the dead to ſwell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading ſchiſmatics, what witholds us but our ſloth, our ſelfwill, and diſtruſt in the right cauſe, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle diſmiſſions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience; if not for their ſakes yet for our own? Seeing no man who hath taſted learning, but will confeſs the many ways of profiting by thoſe who, not contented with ſtale receipts, are able to manage and ſet forth new poſitions to the world. And were they but as the duſt and cinders of our feet, ſo long as in that notion they may yet ſerve

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to poliſh and brighten the armory of truth, even for that reſpect they were not utterly to be caſt away. But if they be of thoſe whom God hath fitted for the ſpecial uſe of theſe times with eminent and ample gifts, and thoſe perhaps neither among the prieſts, nor among the Phariſees, and we in the haſte of a precipitant zeal ſhall make no diſtinction, but reſolve to ſtop their mouths, becauſe we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we underſtand them; no leſs than wo to us, while, thinking thus to defend the goſpel, we are found the perſecutors!

There have been not a few ſince the beginning of this parliament, both of the preſbytery and others, who by their unlicenſed books to the contempt of an imprimatur firſt broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to ſee day: I hope that none of thoſe were the perſuaders to renew upon us this bondage, which they themſelves have wrought ſo much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moſes gave to young Joſhua, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John, who was ſo ready to prohibit thoſe whom he thought unlicenſed, be not enough to admoniſh our elders how unacceptable to God their teſty mood of prohibiting is; if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the church by this lett of licenſing, and what good they themſelves have begun by tranſgreſſing it, be not enough, but that they will perſuade and execute the moſt Dominican part of the inquiſition over us, and are already with one foot in the ſtirrup ſo active at ſuppreſſing, it would be no unequal diſtribution in the firſt place to ſuppreſs the ſuppreſſors themſelves; whom the change of their condition hath puffed up, more than their late experience of harder times hath made wiſe.

And as for regulating the preſs, let no man think to have the honour of adviſing ye better than yourſelves have done in that order publiſhed next before this, "That no book be printed, unleſs the printer's and the author's name, or at leaſt the printer's be regiſtered." Thoſe which otherwiſe come forth, if they be found miſchievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be

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be the timelieſt and the moſt effectual remedy, that man's prevention can uſe. For this authentic Spaniſh policy of licenſing books, if I have ſaid aught, will prove the moſt unlicenſed book itſelf within a ſhort while; and was the immediate image of a ſtar-chamber decree to that purpoſe made in thoſe very times when that court did the reſt of thoſe her pious works, for which ſhe is now fallen from the ſtars with Lucifer. Whereby ye may gueſs what kind of ſtate prudence, what love of the people, what care of religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with ſingular hypocriſy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent order ſo well conſtituted before, if we may believe thoſe men whoſe profeſſion gives them cauſe to inquire moſt, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of ſome old patentees and monopolizers in the trade of bookſelling; who under pretence of the poor in their company not to be defrauded, and the juſt retaining of each man his ſeveral copy, (which God forbid ſhould be gainſaid) brought divers gloſſing colours to the houſe, which were indeed but colours, and ſerving to no end except it be to exerciſe a ſuperiority over their neighbours; men who do not therefore labour in an honeſt profeſſion, to which learning is indebted, that they ſhould be made other men's vaſſals. Another end is thought was aimed at by ſome of them in procuring by petition this order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the eaſier eſcape abroad, as the event ſhows. But of theſe ſophiſms and elenchs of merchandize I ſkill not: This I know, that errours in a good government and in a bad are equally almoſt incident; for what magiſtrate may not be miſinformed, and much the ſooner, if liberty of printing be reduced into the power of a few? But to redreſs willingly and ſpeedily what hath been erred, and in higheſt authority to eſteem a plain advertiſement more than others have done a ſumptuous bride, is a virtue (honoured lords and commons!) anſwerable to your higheſt actions, and whereof none can participate but greateſt and wiſeſt men.

THE

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THE

# DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE

OF

# DIVORCE;

Reſtored to the good of both ſexes, from the bondage of canon law, and other miſtakes, to the true meaning of ſcripture in the law and goſpel compared.

Wherein alſo are ſet down the bad conſequences of aboliſhing, or condemning of ſin, that which the law of GOD allows, and CHRIST aboliſhed not.

*Now the ſecond time reviſed, and much augmented, in two books: To the parliament of England, with the aſſembly.*

MATTH. xiii, 52. "Every ſcribe inſtructed in the kingdom of Heaven is like the maſter of a houſe, which bringeth out of his treaſury things new and old."

PROV. xviii, 13. "He that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and ſhame unto him."

## *To the Parliament of England, with the Aſſembly.*

IF it were ſeriouſly aſked, (and it would be no untimely queſtion,) renowned parliament, ſelect aſſembly! who of all teachers and maſters, that have ever taught, hath drawn the moſt diſciples after him, both in religion and in manners? it might be not untruly anſwered, Cuſtom. Though virtue be commended for the moſt perſuaſive in her theory, and conſcience in the plain demonſtration of the ſpirit finds moſt evincing; yet whether it be the ſecret of divine will, or the original blindneſs we are born in, ſo it happens for the moſt part, that cuſtom ſtill is ſilently received for the beſt inſtructor. Except it be, becauſe her method is ſo glib and eaſy, in ſome manner like to that viſion of Ezekiel rolling up her ſudden book

of

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of implicit knowledge, for him that will to take and ſwallow down at pleaſure; which proving but of bad nouriſhment in the concoction, as it was heedleſs in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily a certain big face of pretended learning, miſtaken among credulous men for the wholeſome habit of ſoundneſs and good conſtitution, but is indeed no other than that ſwoln viſage of counterfeit knowledge and literature, which not only in private mars our education, but alſo in public is the common climber into every chair, where either religion is preached, or law reported: filling each eſtate of life and profeſſion with abject and ſervile principles, depreſſing the high and heavenborn ſpirit of man, far beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or ſin hath ſunk him. To purſue the allegory, cuſtom being but a mere face, as echo is a mere voice, reſts not in her unaccompliſhment, until by ſecret inclination ſhe accorporate herſelf with errour, who being a blind and ſerpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and ſupplies what her incompleteneſs went ſeeking. Hence it is, that errour ſupports cuſtom, cuſtom countenances errour: and theſe two between them would perſecute and chaſe away all truth and ſolid wiſdom out of human life, were it not that God, rather than man, once in many ages calls together the prudent and religious counſels of men, deputed to repreſs the incroachments, and to work off the inveterate blots and obſcurities wrought upon our minds by the ſubtle inſinuating of errour and cuſtom; who, with the numerous and vulgar train of their followers, make it their chief deſign to envy and cry down the induſtry of free reaſoning, under the terms of humour and innovation; as if the womb of teeming truth were to be cloſed up, if ſhe preſume to bring forth aught that ſorts not with their unchewed notions and ſuppoſitions. Againſt which notorious injury and abuſe of man's free ſoul, to teſtify and oppoſe the utmoſt that ſtudy and true labour can attain, heretofore the incitement of men reputed grave hath led me among others; and now the duty and the right of an inſtructed Chriſtian calls me through the chance of good or evil report, to be the ſole advocate of a diſcountenanced truth: a

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high

high enterpriſe, lords and commons! a high enterpriſe and a hard, and ſuch as every ſeventh ſon of a ſeventh ſon does not venture on. Nor have I amidſt the clamour of ſo much envy and impertinence whither to appeal, but to the concourſe of ſo much piety and wiſdom here aſſembled. Bringing in my hands an ancient and moſt neceſſary, moſt charitable, and yet moſt injured ſtatute of Moſes; not repealed ever by him who only had the authority, but thrown aſide with much inconſiderate neglect, under the rubbiſh of canonical ignorance; as once the whole law was by ſome ſuch like conveyance in Joſiah's time. And he who ſhall endeavour the amendment of any old neglected grievance in church or ſtate, or in the daily courſe of life, if he be gifted with abilities of mind, that may raiſe him to ſo high an undertaking, I grant he hath already much whereof not to repent him; yet let me aread him, not to be the foreman of any miſjudged opinion, unleſs his reſolutions be firmly ſeated in a ſquare and conſtant mind, not conſcious to itſelf of any deſerved blame, and regardleſs of ungrounded ſuſpicions. For this let him be ſure he ſhall be boarded preſently by the ruder ſort, but not by diſcreet and well-nurtured men, with a thouſand idle deſcants and ſurmiſes. Who when they cannot confute the leaſt joint or ſinew of any paſſage in the book; yet God forbid that truth ſhould be truth, becauſe they have a boiſterous conceit of ſome pretences in the writer. But were they not more buſy and inquiſitive than the Apoſtle commends, they would hear him at leaſt, "rejoicing ſo the truth be preached, whether of envy or other pretence whatſoever:" for truth is as impoſſible to be ſoiled by any outward touch, as the ſunbeam; though this ill hap wait on her nativity, that ſhe never comes into the world, but like a baſtard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth; till time, the midwife rather than the mother of truth, have waſhed and ſalted the infant, declared her legitimate, and churched the father of his young Minerva, from the needleſs cauſes of his purgation. Yourſelves can beſt witneſs this, worthy patriots! and better will, no doubt, hereafter: for who among ye of the foremoſt that have travailed in her behalf to the good of church or

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ſtate, hath not been often traduced to be the agent of his own by-ends, under pretext of reformation? So much the more I ſhall not be unjuſt to hope, that however infamy or envy may work in other men to do her fretful will againſt this diſcourſe, yet that the experience of your own uprightneſs miſinterpreted will put ye in mind, to give it free audience and generous conſtruction. What though the brood of Belial the draff of men, to whom no liberty is pleaſing, but unbridled and vagabond luſt without pale or partition, will laugh broad perhaps, to ſee ſo great a ſtrength of ſcripture muſtering up in favour, as they ſuppoſe, of their debaucheries; they will know better when they ſhall hence learn, that honeſt liberty is the greateſt foe to diſhoneſt licence. And what though others, out of a wateriſh and queaſy conſcience, becauſe ever crazy and never yet ſound, will rail and fancy to themſelves that injury and licence is the beſt of this book? Did not the diſtemper of their own ſtomachs affect them with a dizzy megrim, they would ſoon tie up their tongues, and diſcern themſelves like that Aſſyrian blaſphemer, all this while reproaching not man, but the Almighty, the Holy One of Iſrael, whom they do not deny to have belawgiven his own ſacred people with this very allowance, which they now call injury and licence, and dare cry ſhame on, and will do yet a while, till they get a little cordial ſobriety to ſettle their qualming zeal. But this queſtion concerns not us perhaps: indeed man's diſpoſition, though prone to ſearch after vain curioſities, yet when points of difficulty are to be diſcuſſed, appertaining to the removal of unreaſonable wrong and burden from the perplexed life of our brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull, and far from all fellow-feeling we are, without the ſpur of ſelf concernment. Yet if the wiſdom, the juſtice, the purity of God be to be cleared from fouleſt imputations, which are not yet avoided; if charity be not to be degraded and trodden down under a civil ordinance; if matrimony be not to be advanced like that exalted perdition written of to the Theſſalonians, "above all that is called God," or goodneſs, nay againſt them both; then I dare affirm, there will be found in the contents of this book that which

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may

may concern us all. You it concerns chiefly, worthies in parliament! on whom as on our deliverers, all our grievances and cares, by the merit of your eminence and fortitude, are devolved. Me it concerns next, having with much labour and faithful diligence firſt found out, or at leaſt with a fearleſs and communicative candour firſt publiſhed to the manifeſt good of chriſtendom, that which, calling to witneſs every thing mortal and immortal, I believe unfeignedly to be true. Let not other men think their conſcience bound to ſearch continually after truth, to pray for enlightening from above, to publiſh what they think they have ſo obtained, and debar me from conceiving myſelf tied by the ſame duties. Ye have now, doubtleſs, by the favour and appointment of God, ye have now in your hands a great and populous nation to reform; from what corruption, what blindneſs in religion, ye know well; in what a degenerate and fallen ſpirit from the apprehenſion of native liberty, and true manlineſs, I am ſure ye find; with what unbounded licence ruſhing to whoredoms and adulteries, needs not long inquiry: inſomuch that the fears, which men have of too ſtrict a diſcipline, perhaps exceed the hopes, that can be in others, of ever introducing it with any great ſucceſs. What if I ſhould tell ye now of diſpenſations and indulgences, to give a little the reins, to let them play and nibble with the bait a while; a people as hard of heart as that Egyptian colony that went to Canaan. This is the common doctrine that adulterous and injurious divorces were not connived only, but with eye open allowed of old for hardneſs of heart. But that opinion, I truſt, by then this following argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the myſteries of an indulgent Antichriſt, to farm out inceſt by, and thoſe his other tributary pollutions. What middle way can be taken then, may ſome interrupt, if we muſt neither turn to the right, nor to the left, and that the people hate to be reformed? Mark then, judges and lawgivers, and ye whoſe office it is to be our teachers, for I will utter now a doctrine, if ever any other, though neglected or not underſtood, yet of great and powerful importance to the governing of mankind. He who wiſely would reſtrain the reaſonable

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able ſoul of man within due bounds, muſt firſt himſelf know perfectly, how far the territory and dominion extends of juſt and honeſt liberty. As little muſt he offer to bind that which God hath looſened, as to looſen that which he hath bound. The ignorance and miſtake of this high point hath heaped up one huge half of all the miſery, that hath been ſince Adam. In the goſpel we ſhall read a ſupercilious crew of maſters, whoſe holineſs, or rather whoſe evil eye, grieving that God ſhould be ſo facil to man, was to ſet ſtraiter limits to obedience, than God hath ſet, to enſlave the dignity of man, to put a garriſon upon his neck of empty and over dignified precepts: and we ſhall read our Saviour never more grieved and troubled, than to meet with ſuch a peeviſh madneſs among men againſt their own freedom. How can we expect him to be leſs offended with us, when much of the ſame folly ſhall be found yet remaining where it leaſt ought, to the periſhing of thouſands? The greateſt burden in the world is ſuperſtition, not only of ceremonies in the church, but of imaginary and ſcarecrow ſins at home. What greater weakening, what more ſubtle ſtratagem againſt our chriſtian warfare, when beſides the groſs body of real tranſgreſſions to encounter, we ſhall be terrified by a vain and ſhadowy menacing of faults that are not: When things indifferent ſhall be ſet to overfront us under the banners of ſin, what wonder if we be routed, and by this art of our adverſary, fall into the ſubjection of worſt and deadlieſt offences? The ſuperſtition of the papiſt is, "touch not, taſte not," when God bids both; and ours is, "part not, ſeparate not," when God and charity both permits and commands. "Let all your things be done with charity," ſaith St. Paul; and his maſter ſaith, "She is the fulfilling of the law." Yet now a civil, an indifferent, a ſometime diſſuaded law of marriage, muſt be forced upon us to fulfil, not only without charity, but againſt her. No place in Heaven or earth, except Hell, where charity may not enter: yet marriage, the ordinance of our ſolace and contentment, the remedy of our lonelineſs, will not admit now either of charity or mercy, to come in and mediate, or pacify the fierceneſs of this gentle ordinance,



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the unremedied lonelileſs of this remedy. Adviſe ye well, ſupreme ſenate, if charity be thus excluded and expulſed, how ye will defend the untainted honour of your own actions and proceedings. He who marries, intends as little to conſpire his own ruin, as he that ſwears allegiance: and as a whole people is in proportion to an ill government, ſo is one man to an ill marriage. If they, againſt any authority, covenant, or ſtatute, may by the ſovereign edict of charity, ſave not only their lives, but honeſt liberties from unworthy bondage, as well may he againſt any private covenant, which he never entered to his miſchief, redeem himſelf from unſupportable diſturbances to honeſt peace, and juſt contentment: And much the rather, for that to reſiſt the higheſt magiſtrate though tyrannizing, God never gave us expreſs allowance, only he gave us reaſon, charity, nature, and good example to bear us out: but in this economical misfortune thus to demean ourſelves, beſides the warrant of thoſe four great directors, which doth as juſtly belong hither, we have an expreſs law of God, and ſuch a law, as whereof our Saviour with a ſolemn threat forbid the abrogating. For no effect of tyranny can ſit more heavy on the commonwealth, than this houſehold unhappineſs on the family. And farewell all hope of true reformation in the ſtate, while ſuch an evil as this lies undiſcerned or unregarded in the houſe: on the redreſs whereof depends not only the ſpiritful and orderly life of our grown men, but the willing and careful education of our children. Let this therefore be new examined, this tenure and freehold of mankind, this native and domeſtic charter given us by a greater lord than that Saxon king the confeſſor. Let the ſtatutes of God be turned over, be ſcanned anew, and conſidered not altogether by the narrow intellectuals of quotationiſts and common places, but (as was the ancient right of councils) by men of what liberal profeſſion ſoever, of eminent ſpirit and breeding, joined with a diffuſe and various knowledge of divine and human things; able to balance and define good and evil, right and wrong, throughout every ſtate of life; able to ſhow us the ways of the Lord ſtraight and faithful as they are, not full of cranks and

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contradictions,

contradictions, and pitfalling diſpenſes, but with divine inſight and benignity meaſured out to the proportion of each mind and ſpirit, each temper and diſpoſition created ſo different each from other, and yet by the ſkill of wiſe conducting, all to become uniform in virtue. To expedite theſe knots, were worthy a learned and memorable ſynod; while our enemies expect to ſee the expectation of the church tired out with dependencies and independencies how they will compound, and in what calends. Doubt not, worthy ſenators! to vindicate the ſacred honour and judgment of Moſes your predeceſſor, from the ſhallow commenting of ſcholaſtics and canoniſts. Doubt not after him to reach out your ſteady hands to the miſinformed and wearied life of man; to reſtore this his loſt heritage, into the houſehold ſtate; wherewith be ſure that peace and love, the beſt ſubſiſtence of a chriſtian family, will return home from whence they are now baniſhed; places of proſtitution will be leſs haunted, the neighbour's bed leſs attempted, the yoke of prudent and manly diſcipline will be generally ſubmitted to; ſober and well ordered living will ſoon ſpring up in the commonwealth. Ye have an author great beyond exception, Moſes; and one yet greater, he who hedged in from aboliſhing every ſmalleſt jot and tittle of precious equity contained in that law, with a more accurate and laſting Maſoreth, than either the ſynagogue of Ezra or the Galilæan ſchool at Tiberias hath left us. Whatever elſe ye can enact, will ſcarce concern a third part of the Britiſh name: but the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will eaſily ſpread far beyond the banks of Tweed and the Norman iſles. It would not be the firſt or ſecond time, ſince our ancient Druids, by whom this iſland was the cathedral of philoſophy to France, left off their pagan rites, that England hath had this honour vouchſafed from Heaven, to give out reformation to the world. Who was it but our Engliſh Conſtantine that baptized the Roman empire? Who but the Northumbrian Willibrode, and Winifride of Devon, with their followers, were the firſt apoſtles of Germany? Who but Alcuin and Wickliff our countrymen opened the eyes of Europe, the one in arts, the other in religion?



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gion? Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.

Know, worthies; and exerciſe the privilege of your honoured country. A greater title I here bring ye, than is either in the power or in the policy of Rome to give her Monarchs; this glorious act will ſtyle ye the defenders of charity. Nor is this yet the higheſt inſcription that will adorn ſo religious and ſo holy a defence as this: behold here the pure and ſacred law of God and his yet purer and more ſacred name offering themſelves to you, firſt of all chriſtian reformers to be acquitted from the long ſuffered ungodly attribute of patronizing adultery. Defer not to wipe off inſtantly theſe imputative blurs and ſtains caſt by rude fancies upon the throne and beauty itſelf of inviolable holineſs: leſt ſome other people more devout and wiſe than we bereave us this offered immortal glory, our wonted prerogative, of being the firſt aſſerters in every great vindication. For me, as far as my part leads me, I have already my greateſt gain, aſſurance and inward ſatisfaction to have done in this nothing unworthy of an honeſt life, and ſtudies well employed. With what event, among the wiſe and right underſtanding handful of men, I am ſecure. But how among the drove of cuſtom and prejudice this will be reliſhed by ſuch whoſe capacity, ſince their youth run ahead into the eaſy creek of a ſyſtem or a medulla, fails there at will under the blown phyſiognomy of their unlaboured rudiments; for them, what their taſte will be, I have alſo ſurety ſufficient, from the entire league that hath ever been between formal ignorance and grave obſtinacy. Yet when I remember the little that our Saviour could prevail about this doctrine of charity againſt the crabbed textuiſts of his time, I make no wonder, but reſt confident, that whoſo prefers either matrimony or other ordinance before the good of man and the plain exigence of charity, let him profeſs papiſt, or proteſtant, or what he will, he is no better than a phariſee, and underſtands not the goſpel: whom as a miſinterpreter of Chriſt I openly proteſt againſt; and provoke him to the trial of this truth before all the world: and let him bethink him withal how he will fodder up the ſhifting flaws of his

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his ungirt permiſſions, his venial and unvenial diſpenſes, wherewith the law of God pardoning and unpardoning hath been ſhamefully branded for want of heed in gloſſing, to have eluded and baffled out all faith and chaſtity from the marriage bed of that holy ſeed, with politic and judicial adulteries. I ſeek not to ſeduce the ſimple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choiceſt and the learnedeſt, who have this high gift of wiſdom to anſwer ſolidly, or to be convinced. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence which is houſed in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have been written in another tongue: and I had done ſo, but that the eſteem I have of my country's judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to ſerve it firſt with what I endeavour, made me ſpeak it thus, ere I aſſay the verdict of outlandiſh readers. And perhaps alſo here I might have ended nameleſs, but that the addreſs of theſe lines chiefly to the parliament of England might have ſeemed ingrateful not to acknowledge by whoſe religious care, unwearied watchfulneſs, couragious and heroic reſolutions, I enjoy the peace and ſtudious leiſure to remain,

The Honourer and Attendant of their noble Worth and Virtues,

JOHN MILTON.



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THE

# DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE

OF

# DIVORCE;

RESTORED TO THE GOOD OF BOTH SEXES.

## BOOK I.

## THE PREFACE.

That man is the occaſion of his own miſeries in moſt of thoſe evils which he imputes to God's inflicting. The abſurdity of our canoniſts in their decrees about divorce. The Chriſtian imperial laws framed with more equity. The opinion of Hugo Grotius and Paulus Fagius: And the purpoſe in general of this diſcourſe.

MANY men, whether it be their fate or fond opinion, eaſily perſuade themſelves, if God would but be pleaſed a while to withdraw his juſt puniſhments from us, and to reſtrain what power either the devil or any earthly enemy hath to work us wo, that then man's nature would find immediate reſt and releaſement from all evils. But verily they who think ſo, if they be ſuch as have a mind large enough to take into their thoughts a general ſurvey of human things, would ſoon prove themſelves in that opinion far deceived. For though it were granted us by divine indulgence to be exempt from all that can be harmful to us from without, yet the perverſeneſs of our folly is ſo bent, that we ſhould never lin hammering out of our own hearts, as it were out of a flint, the ſeeds and ſparkles of new miſery to ourſelves, till all were in a blaze again. And no marvel if out of our own hearts,

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hearts, for they are evil; but even out of thoſe things which God meant us, either for a principal good, or a pure contentment, we are ſtill hatching and contriving upon ourſelves matter of continual ſorrow and perplexity. What greater good to man than that revealed rule, whereby God vouchſafes to ſhow us how he would be worſhipped? And yet that not rightly underſtood became the cauſe, that once a famous man in Iſrael could not but oblige his conſcience to be the ſacrificer; or if not, the gaolor of his innocent and only daughter: and was the cauſe ofttimes that armies of valiant men have given up their throats to a heatheniſh enemy on the ſabbath day; fondly thinking their defenſive reſiſtance to be as then a work unlawful. What thing more inſtituted to the ſolace and delight of man than marriage? And yet the miſinterpreting of ſome Scripture, directed mainly againſt the abuſers of the law for divorce given by Moſes, hath changed the bleſſing of matrimony not ſeldom into a familiar and coinhabiting miſchief; at leaſt into a drooping and diſconſolate houſehold captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungoverned and ſo wild a race doth ſuperſtition run us, from one extreme of abuſed liberty into the other of unmerciful reſtraint. For although God in the firſt ordaining of marriage taught us to what end he did it, in words expreſsly implying the apt and cheerful converſation of man with woman, to comfort and refreſh him againſt the evil of ſolitary life, not mentioning the purpoſe of generation till afterwards, as being but a ſecondary end in dignity, though not in neceſſity; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the church, and have taſted in any ſort the nuptial bed, let them find themſelves never ſo miſtaken in their diſpoſitions through any errour, concealment, or miſadventure, that through their different tempers, thoughts, and conſtitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy againſt lonelineſs, nor live in any union or contentment all their days; yet they ſhall, ſo they be but found ſuitably weaponed to the leaſt poſſibility of ſenſual enjoyment, be made, ſpight of antipathy, to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unſpeakable weariſomeneſs, and deſpair of all ſociable de-



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light in the ordinance which God eſtabliſhed to that very end. What a calamity is this, and as the wiſe man, if he were alive, would ſigh out in his own phraſe, what a "ſore evil is this under the ſun!" All which we can refer juſtly to no other author than the canon law and her adherents, not conſulting with charity, the interpreter and guide of our faith, but reſting in the mere element of the text; doubtleſs by the policy of the devil to make that gracious ordinance become unſupportable, that what with men not daring to venture upon wedlock, and what with men wearied out of it, all inordinate licence might abound. It was for many ages that marriage lay in diſgrace with moſt of the ancient doctors, as a work of the fleſh, almoſt a defilement, wholly denied to prieſts, and the ſecond time diſſuaded to all, as he that reads Tertullian or Jerom may ſee at large. Afterwards it was thought ſo ſacramental, that no adultery or deſertion could diſſolve it; and this is the ſenſe of our canon courts in England to this day, but in no other reformed church elſe: yet there remains in them alſo a burden on it as heavy as the other two were diſgraceful or ſuperſtitious, and of as much iniquity, croſſing a law not only written by Moſes, but charactered in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground than marriage itſelf; which law is to force nothing againſt the faultleſs proprieties of nature, yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviour's words touching divorce are as it were congealed into a ſtony rigour, inconſiſtent both with his doctrine and his office; and that which he preached only to the conſcience is by canonical tyranny ſnatched into the compulſive cenſure of a judicial court; where laws are impoſed even againſt the venerable and ſecret power of nature's impreſſion, to love, whatever cauſe be found to loath: which is a henious barbariſm both againſt the honour of marriage, the dignity of man and his ſoul, the goodneſs of chriſtianity, and all the human reſpects of civility. Notwithſtanding that ſome the wiſeſt and graveſt among the chriſtian emperors, who had about them, to conſult with, thoſe of the fathers then living; who for their learning and holineſs of life are ſtill with us in great renown, have made their ſtatutes and edicts concerning

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concerning this debate far more eaſy and relenting in many neceſſary caſes, wherein the canon is inflexible. And Hugo Grotius, a man of theſe times, one of the beſt learned, ſeems not obſcurely to adhere in his perſuaſion to the equity of thoſe imperial decrees, in his notes upon the Evangeliſts; much allaying the outward roughneſs of the text, which hath for the moſt part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to inquire further into this queſtion, as containing many points that have not yet been explained. Which ever likely to remain intricate and hopeleſs upon the ſuppoſitions commonly ſtuck to, the authority of Paulus Fagius, one ſo learned and ſo eminent in England once, if it might perſuade, would ſtraight acquaint us with a ſolution of theſe differences no leſs prudent than compendious. He, in his comment on the Pentateuch, doubted not to maintain that divorces might be as lawfully permitted by the magiſtrate to chriſtians, as they were to the jews. But becauſe he is but brief, and theſe things of great conſequence not to be kept obſcure, I ſhall conceive it nothing above my duty, either for the difficulty or the cenſure that may paſs thereon, to communicate ſuch thoughts as I alſo have had, and do offer them now in this general labour of reformation to the candid view both of church and magiſtrate: eſpecially becauſe I ſee it the hope of good men, that thoſe irregular and unſpiritual courts have ſpun their utmoſt date in this land, and ſome better courſe muſt now be conſtituted. This therefore ſhall be the taſk and period of this diſcourſe to prove, firſt, that other reaſons of divorce, beſides adultery, were by the law of Moſes, and are yet to be allowed by the chriſtian magiſtrate as a piece of juſtice, and that the words of Chriſt are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit abſolutely any divorce whatſoever, except thoſe which Moſes excepted, is againſt the reaſon of law, as in due place I ſhall ſhow out of Fagius with many additions. He therefore who by adventuring, ſhall be ſo happy as with ſucceſs to light the way of ſuch an expedient liberty and truth as this, ſhall reſtore the much wronged and over ſorrowed ſtate of matrimony, not only to thoſe merciful and life giving remedies

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remedies of Moſes, but as much as may be, to that ſerene and bliſsful condition it was in at the beginning, and ſhall deſerve of all apprehenſive men, (conſidering the troubles and diſtempers, which, for want of this inſight have been ſo oft in kingdoms, in ſtates, and families) ſhall deſerve to be reckoned among the public benefactors of civil and human life, above the inventors of wine and oil; for this is a far dearer, far nobler, and more deſirable cheriſhing to man's life, unworthily expoſed to ſadneſs and miſtake, which he ſhall vindicate. Not that licence, and levity, and unconſented breach of faith ſhould herein be countenanced, but that ſome conſcionable and tender pity might be had of thoſe who have unwarily, in a thing they never practiſed before, made themſelves the bondmen of a luckleſs and helpleſs matrimony. In which argument, he whoſe courage can ſerve him to give the firſt onſet, muſt look for two ſeveral oppoſitions; the one from thoſe who having ſworn themſelves to long cuſtom, and the letter of the text, will not out of the road: the other from thoſe whoſe groſs and vulgar apprehenſions conceit but low of matrimonial purpoſes, and in the work of male and female think they have all. Nevertheleſs, it ſhall be here ſought by due ways to be made appear, that thoſe words of God in the inſtitution, promiſing a meet help againſt lonelineſs, and thoſe words of Chriſt, "that his yoke is eaſy, and his burden light," were not ſpoken in vain: for if the knot of marriage may in no caſe be diſſolved but for adultery, all the burdens and ſervices of the law are not ſo intolerable. This only is deſired of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be ſtill, and hear all out, nor think it equal to anſwer deliberate reaſon with ſudden heat and noiſe; remembering this, that many truths now of reverend eſteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from ſingular and private thoughts, while the moſt of men were otherwiſe poſſeſſed; and had the fate at firſt to be generally exploded and exclaimed on by many violent oppoſers: yet I may err perhaps in ſoothing myſelf, that this preſent truth revived will deſerve on all hands to be not ſiniſterly received, in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate

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rate diſeaſe crept into the beſt part of human ſociety; and to do this with no ſmarting corroſive, but with a ſmooth and pleaſing leſſon, which received hath the virtue to ſoften and diſpel rooted and knotty ſorrows, and without enchantment, if that be feared, or ſpell uſed, hath regard at once both to ſerious pity and upright honeſty; that tends to the redeeming and reſtoring of none but ſuch as are the object of compaſſion, having in an ill hour hampered themſelves, to the utter diſpatch of all their moſt beloved comforts and repoſe for this life's term. But if we ſhall obſtinately diſlike this new overture of unexpected eaſe and recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardneſs of our hopeleſs condition, which neither can endure the eſtate we are in, nor admit of remedy either ſharp or ſweet. Sharp we ourſelves diſtaſte; and ſweet, under whoſe hands we are, is ſcrupled and ſuſpected as too luſcious. In ſuch a poſture Chriſt found the Jews, who were neither won with the auſterity of John the Baptiſt, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who ſounded and proclaimed liberty and relief to all diſtreſſes: yet truth in ſome age or other will find her witneſs, and ſhall be juſtified at laſt by her own children.

## CHAP. I.

*The poſition proved by the law of Moſes. That law expounded and aſſerted to a moral and charitable uſe, firſt by Paulus Fagius, next with other additions.*

To remove therefore, if it be poſſible, this great and ſad oppreſſion, which through the ſtrictneſs of a literal interpreting hath invaded and diſturbed the deareſt and moſt peaceable eſtate of houſehold ſociety, to the overburdening, if not the overwhelming of many chriſtians better worth than to be ſo deſerted of the church's conſiderate care, this poſition ſhall be laid down, firſt proving, then anſwering what may be objected either from ſcripture or light of reaſon.

"That indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind, ariſing from a cauſe in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal ſociety,

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ſociety, which are ſolace and peace; is a greater reaſon of divorce than natural frigidity, eſpecially if there be no children, and that there be mutual conſent."

This I gather from the law in Deut. xxiv, 1. "When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it come to paſs that ſhe find no favour in his eyes, becauſe he hath found ſome uncleanneſs in her, let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe," &c. This law, if the words of Chriſt may be admitted into our belief, ſhall never while the world ſtands, for him be abrogated. Firſt therefore I here ſet down what learned Fagius hath obſerved on this law; "the law of God," ſaith he, "permitted divorce for the help of human weakneſs. For every one that of neceſſity ſeparates, cannot live ſingle. That Chriſt denied divorce to his own, hinders not; for what is that to the unregenerate, who hath not attained ſuch perfection? Let not the remedy be deſpiſed, which was given to weakneſs. And when Chriſt ſaith, who marries the divorced commits adultery, it is to be underſtood if he had any plot in the divorce." The reſt I reſerve until it be diſputed, how the magiſtrate is to do herein. From hence we may plainly diſcern a twofold conſideration in this law: firſt, the end of the lawgiver, and the proper act of the law, to command or to allow ſomething juſt and honeſt, or indifferent. Secondly his ſufferance from ſome accidental reſult of evil by this allowance, which the law cannot remedy. For if this law have no other end or act but only the allowance of ſin, though never to ſo good intention, that law is no law, but ſin muffled in the robe of law, or law diſguiſed in the looſe garment of ſin. Both which are too foul hypotheſes, to ſave the phænomenon of our Saviour's anſwer to the Phariſees about this matter. And I truſt anon by the help of an infallible guide, to perfect ſuch Prutenic tables, as ſhall mend the aſtronomy of our wide expoſitors.

The cauſe of divorce mentioned in the law is tranſlated "ſome uncleanneſs," but in the Hebrew it ſounds "nakedneſs of aught, or any real nakedneſs:" which by all the learned interpreters is referred to the mind as well as to the body. And what greater nakedneſs or unfit-

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ness of mind than that which hinders ever the solace and peaceful society of the married couple; and what hinders that more than the unfitness and defectiveness of an unconjugal mind? The cause therefore of divorce expressed in the position cannot but agree with that described in the best and equallest sense of Moses's law. Which, being a matter of pure charity, is plainly moral, and more now in force than ever; therefore surely lawful. For if under the law such was God's gracious indulgence, as not to suffer the ordinance of his goodness and favour through any errour to be feared and stigmatized upon his servants, to their misery and thraldom; much less will he suffer it now under the covenant of grace, by abrogating his former grant of remedy and relief. But the first institution will be objected to have ordained marriage inseparable. To that a little patience until this first part have amply discoursed the grave and pious reasons of this divorcive law; and then I doubt not but with one gentle stroking to wipe away ten thousand tears out of the life of man. Yet thus much I shall now insist on, that whatever the institution were, it could not be so enormous, nor so rebellious against both nature and reason, as to exalt itself above the end and person for whom it was instituted.

## CHAP. II.

*The first reason of this law grounded on the prime reason of matrimony. That no covenant whatsoever obliges against the main end both of itself, and of the parties covenanting.*

For all sense and equity reclaims, that any law or covenant, how solemn or strait soever, either between God and man, or man and man, though of God's joining, should bind against a prime and principal scope of its own institution, and of both or either party covenanting: neither can it be of force to engage a blameless creature to his own perpetual sorrow, mistaken for his expected solace, without suffering charity to step in and do a confessed good work of parting those, whom nothing holds together but this of God's joining, falsely supposed against the express end of his own ordinance. And what his

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his chief end was of creating woman to be joined with man, his own inſtituting words declare, and are infallible to inform us what is marriage, and what is no marriage; unleſs we can think them ſet there to no purpoſe: "it is not good," ſaith he, "that man ſhould be alone, I will make him a help meet for him." From which words, ſo plain, leſs cannot be concluded, nor is by any learned interpreter, than that in God's intention a meet and happy converſation is the chiefeſt and the nobleſt end of marriage: for we find here no expreſſion ſo neceſſarily implying carnal knowledge, as this prevention of lonelineſs to the mind and ſpirit of man. To this, Fagius, Calvin, Pareus, Rivetus, as willingly and largely aſſent as can be wiſhed. And indeed it is a greater bleſſing from God, more worthy ſo excellent a creature as man is, and a higher end to honour and ſanctify the league of marriage, whenas the ſolace and ſatisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the ſenſitive pleaſing of the body. And with all generous perſons married thus it is, that where the mind and perſon pleaſes aptly, there ſome unaccompliſhment of the body's delight may be better borne with, than when the mind hangs off in an uncloſing diſproportion, though the body be as it ought; for there all corporal delight will ſoon become unſavoury and contemptible. And the ſolitarineſs of man, which God had namely and principally ordered to prevent by marriage, hath no remedy, but lies under a worſe condition than the lonelieſt ſingle life: for in ſingle life the abſence and remoteneſs of a helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himſelf, or to ſeek with hope; but here the continual ſight of his deluded thoughts, without cure, muſt needs be to him, if eſpecially his complexion incline him to melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of loſs, in ſome degree like that which reprobates feel. Leſt therefore ſo noble a creature as man ſhould be ſhut up incurably under a worſe evil by an eaſy miſtake in that ordinance which God gave him to remedy a leſs evil, reaping to himſelf ſorrow while he went to rid away ſolitarineſs, it cannot avoid to be concluded, that if the woman be naturally ſo of diſpoſition, as will not help to remove, but help to increaſe that ſame God-

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forbidden lonelineſs, which will in time draw on with it a general diſcomfort and dejection of mind; not beſeeming either chriſtian profeſſion or moral converſation, unprofitable and dangerous to the commonwealth, when the houſehold eſtate, out of which muſt flouriſh forth the vigour and ſpirit of all public enterpriſes, is ſo illcontented and procured at home, and cannot be ſupported; ſuch a marriage can be no marriage, whereto the moſt honeſt end is wanting: and the aggrieved perſon ſhall do more manly, to be extraordinary and ſingular in claiming the due right whereof he is fruſtrated, than to piece up his loſt contentment by viſiting the ſtews, or ſtepping to his neighbour's bed; which is the common ſhift in this miſfortune: or elſe by ſuffering his uſeful life to waſte away, and be loſt under a ſecret affliction of an unconſcionable ſize to human ſtrength. Againſt all which evils the mercy of this Moſaic law was graciouſly exhibited.

## CHAP. III.

*The ignorance and iniquity of canon law, providing for the right of the body in marriage, but nothing for the wrongs and grievances of the mind. An objection, that the mind ſhould be better looked to before contract, anſwered.*

How vain therefore is it, and how prepoſterous in the canon law, to have made ſuch careful proviſion againſt the impediment of carnal performance, and to have had no care about the unconverſing inability of mind ſo defective to the pureſt and moſt ſacred end of matrimony; and that the veſſel of voluptuous enjoyment muſt be made good to him that has taken it upon truſt, without any caution; whenas the mind, from whence muſt flow the acts of peace and love, a far more precious mixture than the quinteſſence of an excrement, though it be found never ſo deficient and unable to perform the beſt duty of marriage in a cheerful and agreeable converſation, ſhall be thought good enough, however flat and melancholious it be, and muſt ſerve, though to the eternal diſturbance and languiſhing of him that complains! Yet wiſdom and charity, weighing God's own inſtitution, would think that the pining of a ſad ſpirit wedded to

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lonelineſs

lonelineſs ſhould deſerve to be freed, as well as the impatience of a ſenſual deſire ſo providently relieved. It is read to us in the liturgy, that "we muſt not marry to ſatisfy the fleſhly appetite, like brute beaſts, that have no underſtanding:" but the canon ſo turns, as if it dreamed of no other matter than ſuch an appetite to be ſatisfied; for if it happen that nature hath ſtopped or extinguiſhed the veins of ſenſuality, that marriage is annulled. But though all the faculties of the underſtanding and converſing part after trial appear to be ſo ill and ſo averſely met through nature's unalterable working, as that neither peace, nor any ſociable contentment can follow, it is as nothing; the contract ſhall ſtand as firm as ever, betide what will. What is this, but ſecretly to inſtruct us, that however many grave reaſons are pretended to the married life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the preſcribed ſatisfaction of an irrational heat? Which cannot be but ignominious to the ſtate of marriage, diſhonourable to the undervalued ſoul of man, and even to chriſtian doctrine itſelf: while it ſeems more moved at the diſappointing of an impetuous nerve, than at the ingenuous grievance of a mind unreaſonably yoked; and to place more of marriage in the channel of concupiſcence, than in the pure influence of peace and love whereof the ſoul's lawful contentment is the only fountain.

But ſome are ready to object, that the diſpoſition ought ſeriouſly to be conſidered before. But let them know again, that for all the warineſs can be uſed, it may yet befal a diſcreet man to be miſtaken in his choice, and we have plenty of examples. The ſobereſt and beſt governed men are leaſt practiſed in theſe affairs; and who knows not that the baſhful muteneſs of a virgin may ofttimes hide all the unlivelineſs and natural ſloth which is really unfit for converſation; nor is there that freedom of acceſs granted or preſumed, as may ſuffice to a perfect diſcerning till too late; and where any indiſpoſition is ſuſpected, what more uſual than the perſuaſion of friends, that acquaintance, as it increaſes, will amend all? And laſtly, it is not ſtrange though many, who have ſpent their youth chaſtely, are in ſome things not ſo quick-

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quick-sighted, while they haste too eagerly to light the nuptial torch; nor is it therefore that for a modest errour a man should forfeit so great a happiness, and no charitable means to release him: since they who have lived most loosely, by reason of their bold accustoming, prove most successful in their matches, because their wild affections unsettling at will, have been as so many divorces to teach them experience. Whenas the sober man honouring the appearance of modesty, and hoping well of every social virtue under that veil, may easily chance to meet, if not with a body impenetrable, yet often with a mind to all other due conversation inaccessible, and to all the more estimable and superior purposes of matrimony useless and almost lifeless: and what a solace, what a fit help such a consort would be through the whole life of a man, is less pain to conjecture than to have experience.

## CHAP. IV.

*The second reason of this law, because without it, marriage as it happens oft is not a remedy of that which it promises, as any rational creature would expect. That marriage, if we pattern from the beginning, as our Saviour bids, was not properly the remedy of lust, but the fulfilling of conjugal love and helpfulness.*

And that we may further see what a violent cruel thing it is to force the continuing of those together, whom God and nature in the gentlest end of marriage never joined; divers evils and extremities, that follow upon such a compulsion, shall here be set in view. Of evils, the first and greatest is, that hereby a most absurd and rash imputation is fixed upon God and his holy laws, of conniving and dispensing with open and common adultery among his chosen people; a thing which the rankest politician would think it shame and disworship that his laws should countenance: how and in what manner that comes to pass I shall reserve till the course of method brings on the unfolding of many scriptures. Next, the law and gospel are hereby made liable to more than one contradiction, which I refer also thither. Lastly, the supreme dictate of charity is hereby many ways neglected and violated; which I shall forthwith address to prove.



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First, we know St. Paul saith, It is better to marry than to burn. Marriage therefore was given as a remedy of that trouble; but what might this burning mean? Certainly not the mere motion of carnal lust, not the mere goad of a sensitive desire: God does not principally take care for such cattle. What is it then but that desire which God put into Adam in Paradise, before he knew the sin of incontinence; that desire which God saw it was not good that man should be left alone to burn in, the desire and longing to put off an unkindly solitariness by uniting another body, but not without a fit soul to his, in the chearful society of wedlock? Which if it were so needful before the fall, when man was much more perfect in himself, how much more is it needful now against all the sorrows and casualties of this life, to have an intimate and speaking help, a ready and reviving associate in marriage? Whereof who misses, by chancing on a mute and spiritless mate, remains more alone than before, and in a burning less to be contained than that which is fleshly, and more to be considered; as being more deeply rooted even in the faultless innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venom of a lusty and over abounding concoction, strict life and labour, with the abatement of a full diet, may keep that low and obedient enough: but this pure and more inbred desire of joining to itself in conjugal fellowship a fit conversing soul (which desire is properly called love) "is stronger than death," as the spouse of Christ thought; "many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it." This is that rational burning that marriage is to remedy, not to be allayed with fasting, nor with any penance to be subdued: which how can he assuage who by mishap hath met the most unmeet and unsuitable mind? Who hath the power to struggle with an intelligible flame, not in Paradise to be resisted, become now more ardent by being failed of what in reason it looked for; and even then most unquenched, when the importunity of a provender burning is well enough appeased; and yet the soul hath obtained nothing of what it justly desires. Certainly such a one forbidden to divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compelled

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compelled to greater difficulties than in a ſingle life: for if there be not a more humane burning which marriage muſt ſatisfy, or elſe may be diſſolved, than that of copulation, marriage cannot be honourable for the meet reducing and terminating luſt between two: ſeeing many beaſts in voluntary and choſen couples live together as unadulterouſly, and are as truly married in that reſpect. But all ingenuous men will ſee that the dignity and bleſſing of marriage is placed rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting ſoul needfully ſeeks, than of that which the plenteous body would joyfully give away. Hence it is that Plato in his feſtival diſcourſe brings in Socrates relating what he feigned to have learned from the propheteſs Diotima, how Love was the ſon of Penury, begot of Plenty in the garden of Jupiter. Which divinely ſorts with that which in effect Moſes tells us, that Love was the ſon of Lonelineſs, begot in Paradiſe by that ſociable and helpful aptitude which God implanted between man and woman toward each other. The ſame alſo is that burning mentioned by St. Paul, whereof marriage ought to be the remedy: the fleſh hath other mutual and eaſy curbs, which are in the power of any temperate man. When therefore this original and ſinleſs penury or lonelineſs of the ſoul cannot lay itſelf down by the ſide of ſuch a meet and acceptable union as God ordained in marriage, at leaſt in ſome proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth love, but remains utterly unmarried under a formal wedlock, and ſtill burns in the proper meaning of St. Paul. Then enters Hate, not that hate that ſins, but that which only is natural diſſatisfaction, and the turning aſide from a miſtaken object: if that miſtake have done injury, it fails not to diſmiſs with recompenſe; for to retain ſtill, and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury. Thence this wiſe and pious law of diſmiſſion now defended, took beginning: he therefore who lacking of his due in the moſt native and humane end of marriage, thinks it better to part than to live ſadly and injuriouſly to that cheerful covenant (for not to be beloved, and yet retained, is the greateſt injury to a gentle ſpirit) he I ſay, who therefore



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ſeeks to part, is one who highly honours the married life and would not ſtain it: and the reaſons which now move him to divorce, are equal to the beſt of thoſe that could firſt warrant him to marry; for, as was plainly ſhown, both the hate which now diverts him, and the lonelineſs which leads him ſtill powerfully to ſeek a fit help, hath not the leaſt grain of a ſin in it, if he be worthy to underſtand himſelf.

## CHAP. V.

*The third reaſon of this law, becauſe without it, he who has happened where he finds nothing but remedileſs offences and diſcontents, is in more and greater temptations than ever before.*

THIRDLY; Yet it is next to be feared, if he muſt be ſtill bound without reaſon by a deaf rigour, that when he perceives the juſt expectance of his mind defeated, he will begin even againſt law to caſt about where he may find his ſatisfaction more complete, unleſs he be a thing heroically virtuous; and that are not the common lump of men, for whom chiefly the laws ought to be made; though not to their ſins, yet to their unſinning weakneſſes, it being above their ſtrength to endure the lonely eſtate, which while they ſhunned they are fallen into. And yet there follows upon this a worſe temptation: for if he be ſuch as hath ſpent his youth unblameably, and laid up his chieſeſt earthly comforts in the enjoyments of a contented marriage, nor did neglect that furtherance which was to be obtained therein by conſtant prayers; when he ſhall find himſelf bound faſt to an uncomplying diſcord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an image of earth and phlegm, with whom he looked to be the copartner of a ſweet and gladſome ſociety, and ſees withal that his bondage is now inevitable; though he be almoſt the ſtrongeſt chriſtian, he will be ready to deſpair in virtue, and mutiny againſt divine providence: and this doubtleſs is the reaſon of thoſe lapſes, and that melancholy deſpair, which we ſee in many wedded perſons, though they underſtand it not, or pretend other cauſes, becauſe they know no remedy, and is of extreme danger: therefore when human frailty ſurcharged is at

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ſuch

ſuch a loſs, charity ought to venture much, and uſe bold phyſic, leſt an overtoſſed faith endanger to ſhipwreck.

## CHAP. VI.

*The fourth reaſon of this law, that God regards love and peace in the family, more than a compulſive performance of marriage, which is more broke by a grievous continuance, than by a needful divorce.*

FOURTHLY, Marriage is a covenant, the very being whereof conſiſts not in a forced cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace: and of matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient ſages was thus parabled; that Love, if he be not twin born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, called Anteros; whom while he ſeeks all about, his chance is to meet with many falſe and feigning deſires, that wander ſingly up and down in his likeneſs: by them in their borrowed garb, Love, though not wholly blind, as poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an archer aiming, and that eye not the quickeſt in this dark region here below, which is not Love's proper ſphere, partly out of the ſimplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceived, embraces and conſorts him with theſe obvious and ſuborned ſtriplings, as if they were his mother's own ſons; for ſo he thinks them, while they ſubtilly keep themſelves moſt on his blind ſide. But after a while, as his manner is, when ſoaring up into the high tower of his Apogæum, above the ſhadow of the earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then moſt piercing eyeſight upon the impoſtures, and trim diſguiſes, that were uſed with him, and diſcerns that this is not his genuine brother as he imagined; he has no longer the power to hold fellowſhip with ſuch a perſonated mate: for ſtraight his arrows loſe their golden heads, and ſhed their purple feathers, his ſilken braids untwine, and ſlip their knots, and that original and fiery virtue given him by fate all on a ſudden goes out, and leaves him undeified and deſpoiled of all his force; till finding Anteros at laſt, he kindles and repairs the almoſt faded ammu-



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nition of his deity by the reflection of a coequal and homogeneal fire. Thus mine author ſung it to me: and by the leave of thoſe who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no mere amatorious novel (though to be wiſe and ſkilful in theſe matters, men heretofore of greateſt name in virtue have eſteemed it one of the higheſt arcs, that human contemplation circling upwards can make from the globy ſea whereon ſhe ſtands:) but this is a deep and ſerious verity, ſhowing us that love in marriage cannot live nor ſubſiſt unleſs it be mutual; and where love cannot be, there can be left of wedlock nothing but the empty huſk of an outſide matrimony, as undelightful and unpleaſing to God as any other kind of hypocriſy. So far is his command from tying men to the obſervance of duties which there is no help for, but they muſt be diſſembled. If Solomon's advice be not overfrolic, "live joyfully," ſaith he, "with the wife whom thou loveſt, all thy days, for that is thy portion." How then, where we find it impoſſible to rejoice or to love, can we obey this precept? How miſerably do we defraud ourſelves of that comfortable portion, which God gives us, by ſtriving vainly to glue an errour together, which God and nature will not join, adding but more vexation and violence to that bliſsful ſociety by our importunate ſuperſtition, that will not hearken to St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii, who, ſpeaking of marriage and divorce, determines plain enough in general, that God therein "hath called us to peace, and not to bondage." Yea, God himſelf commands in his law more than once, and by his Prophet Malachi, as Calvin and the beſt tranſlations read, that "he who hates, let him divorce," that is, he who cannot love. Hence it is that the rabbins, and Maimonides famous among the reſt in a book of his ſet forth by Buxtorfius tells us, that "divorce was permitted by Moſes to preſerve peace in marriage, and quiet in the family." Surely the Jews had their ſaving peace about them as well as we, yet care was taken that this wholeſome proviſion for houſehold peace ſhould alſo be allowed them: and muſt this be denied to chriſtians? O perverſeneſs! that the law ſhould be made more provident of peacemaking than the goſpel! that the

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goſpel ſhould be put to beg a moſt neceſſary help of mercy from the law, but muſt not have it; and that to grind in the mill of an undelighted and ſervile copulation, muſt be the only forced work of a chriſtian marriage, oftimes with ſuch a yokefellow, from whom both love and peace, both nature and religion mourns to be ſeparated. I cannot therefore be ſo diffident, as not ſecurely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the moſt important helps in marriage, being thereby diſinabled to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance, and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no leſs grieved; that man ought even for love's ſake and peace to move divorce upon good and liberal conditions to the divorced. And it is a leſs breach of wedlock to part with wife and quiet conſent betimes, than ſtill to foil and prophane that myſtery of joy and union with a polluting ſadneſs and perpetual diſtemper: for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keeps whole that covenant, but whatſoever does moſt according to peace and love, whether in marriage or in divorce, he it is that breaks marraige leaſt; it being ſo often written, that "Love only is the fulfilling of every commandment."

## CHAP. VII.

*The fifth reaſon, that nothing more hinders and diſturbs the whole life of a chriſtian, than a matrimony found to be incurably unfit, and doth the ſame in effect that an idolatrous match.*

FIFTHLY, As thoſe prieſts of old were not to be long in ſorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; ſo every true chriſtian in a higher order of prieſthood is a perſon dedicate to joy and peace, offering himſelf a lively ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, and there is no chriſtian duty that is not to be ſeaſoned and ſet off with cheeriſhneſs; which in a thouſand outward and intermitting croſſes may yet be done well, as in this vale of tears: but in ſuch a boſom affliction as this, cruſhing the very foundation of his inmoſt nature, when he ſhall be forced to love againſt a poſſibility, and to uſe a diſſimulation againſt his ſoul in the perpetual



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and ceaſeleſs duties of a huſband; doubtleſs his whole duty of ſerving God muſt needs be blurred and tainted with a ſad unpreparedneſs and dejection of ſpirit wherein God has no delight. Who ſees not therefore how much more chriſtianity it would be to break by divorce, that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather than "to cover the altar of the Lord with continual tears, ſo that he regardeth not the offering any more," rather than that the whole worſhip of a chriſtian man's life ſhould languiſh and fade away beneath the weight of an immeaſurable grief and diſcouragement? And becauſe ſome think the children of a ſecond matrimony ſucceeding a divorce would not be a holy ſeed, it hindered not the Jews from being ſo; and why ſhould we not think them more holy than the offspring of a former illtwiſted wedlock, begotten only out of a beſtial neceſſity, without any true love or contentment, or joy to their parents? So that in ſome ſenſe we may call them the "children of wrath" and anguiſh, which will as little conduce to their ſanctifying, as if they had been baſtards: for nothing more than diſturbance of mind ſuſpends us from approaching to God; ſuch a diſturbance eſpecially, as both aſſaults our faith and truſt in God's providence, and ends, if there be not a miracle of virtue on either ſide, not only in bitterneſs and wrath, the canker of devotion, but in a deſperate and vicious careleſſneſs, when he ſees himſelf, without fault of his, trained by a deceitful bait into a ſnare of miſery, betrayed by an alluring ordinance, and then made the thrall of heavineſs and diſcomfort by an undivorcing law of God, as he erroneouſly thinks, but of man's iniquity, as the truth is: for that God prefers the free and cheerful worſhip of a chriſtian, before the grievance and exacted obſervance of an unhappy marriage, beſides that the general maxims of religion aſſure us, will be more manifeſt by drawing a parallel argument from the ground of divorcing an idolatreſs, which was, leſt he ſhould alienate his heart from the true worſhip of God: and what difference is there whether ſhe pervert him to ſuperſtition by her enticing ſorcery, or diſenable him in the whole ſervice of God through the diſturbance of her unhelpful and unfit ſociety; and ſo drive

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him at laſt, through murmuring and deſpair, to thoughts of atheiſm? Neither doth it leſſen the cauſe of ſeparating, in that the one willingly allures him from the faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one, that the wife looſes him a ſervant: and therefore by all the united force of the Decalogue ſhe ought to be diſbanded, unleſs we muſt ſet marriage above God and Charity, which is the doctrine of devils, no leſs than forbidding to marry.

## CHAP. VIII.

*That an idolatrous heretic ought to be divorced, after a convenient ſpace given to hope of converſion. That place of* 1 *Cor. vii reſtored from a twofold erroneous expoſition; and that the common expoſitors flatly contradict the moral law.*

And here by the way, to illuſtrate the whole queſtion of divorce, ere this treatiſe end, I ſhall not be loth to ſpend a few lines in hope to give a full reſolve of that which is yet ſo much controverted; whether an idolatrous heretic ought to be divorced. To the reſolving whereof we muſt firſt know, that the Jews were commanded to divorce an unbelieving Gentile for two cauſes: Firſt, becauſe all other nations, eſpecially the Canaanites, were to them unclean. Secondly, to avoid ſeducement. That other nations were to the Jews impure, even to the ſeparating of marriage, will appear out of Exod. xxxiv, 16, Deut. vii, 3, 6, compared with Ezra ix, 2, alſo chap. x, 10, 11, Nehem. xiii, 30. This was the ground of that doubt raiſed among the Corinthians by ſome of the circumciſion; whether an unbeliever were not ſtill to be counted an unclean thing, ſo as that they ought to divorce from ſuch a perſon. This doubt of theirs St. Paul removes by an evangelical reaſon, having reſpect to that viſion of St. Peter, wherein the diſtinction of clean and unclean being aboliſhed, all living creatures were ſanctified to a pure and Chriſtian uſe, and mankind eſpecially, now invited by a general call to the covenant of grace. Therefore ſaith St. Paul, "The unbelieving wife is ſanctified by the huſband;" that is, made pure and lawful to his uſe, ſo that he need not put her away for fear leſt her unbelief ſhould defile him;

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him; but that if he found her love ſtill towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The ſecond reaſon of that divorce was to avoid ſeducement, as is proved by comparing thoſe two places of the law to that which Ezra and Nehemiah did by divine warrant in compelling the Jews to forego their wives. And this reaſon is moral and perpetual in the rule of Chriſtian faith without evaſion; therefore ſaith the apoſtle, 2 Cor. vi, "Miſyoke not together with infidels," which is interpreted of marriage in the firſt place. And although the former legal pollution be now done off, yet there is a ſpiritual contagion in idolatry as much to be ſhunned; and though ſeducement were not to be feared, yet where there is no hope of converting, there always ought to be a certain religious averſation and abhorring, which can no way ſort with marriage: Therefore ſaith St. Paul, "What fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? What communion hath light with darkneſs? What concord hath Chriſt with Belial? What part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" And in the next verſe but one he moralizes, and makes us liable to that command of Iſaiah; "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord; touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye." And this command thus goſpellized to us, hath the ſame force with that whereon Ezra grounded the pious neceſſity of divorcing. Neither had he other commiſſion for what he did, than ſuch a general command in Deut. as this, nay not ſo direct; for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce, and yet we ſee with what a zeal and confidence he was the author of a general divorce between the faithful and the unfaithful ſeed. The goſpel is more plainly on his ſide, according to three of the Evangeliſts, than the words of the law; for where the caſe of divorce is handled with ſuch ſeverity, as was fitteſt to aggravate the fault of unbounded licence; yet ſtill in the ſame chapter, when it comes into queſtion afterwards, whether any civil reſpect, or natural relation which is deareſt, may be our plea to divide, or hinder or but delay our duty to religion, we hear it determined that father, and mother, and wife alſo,



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is not onlyto be hated, but forſaken, if we mean to inherit the great reward there promiſed. Nor will it ſuffice to be put off by ſaying we muſt forſake them only by not conſenting or not complying with them, for that were to be done, and roundly too, though being of the ſame faith, they ſhould but ſeek out of a fleſhly tenderneſs to weaken our Chriſtian fortitude with worldly perſuaſions, or but to unſettle our conſtancy with timorous and ſoftening ſuggeſtions; as we may read with what a vehemence Job, the patienteſt of men, rejected the deſperate counſels of his wife; and Moſes, the meekeſt, being thoroughly offended with the prophane ſpeeches of Zippora, ſent her back to her father. But if they ſhall perpetually, at our elbow, ſeduce us from the true worſhip of God, or defile and daily ſcandalize our conſcience by their hopeleſs continuance in miſbelief; then even in the due progreſs of reaſon, and that ever equal proportion which juſtice proceeds by, it cannot be imagined that this cited place commands leſs than a total and final ſeparation from ſuch an adherent; at leaſt that no force ſhould be uſed to keep them together: while we remember that God commanded Abraham to ſend away his irreligious wife and her ſon for the offences which they gave in a pious family. And it may be gueſſed that David for the like cauſe diſpoſed of Michal in ſuch a ſort, as little differed from a diſmiſſion. Therefore againſt reiterated ſcandals and ſeducements, which never ceaſe, much more can no other remedy or retirement be found but abſolute departure. For what kind of matrimony can that remain to be, what one duty between ſuch can be performed as it ſhould be from the heart, when their thoughts and ſpirits fly aſunder as far as Heaven from Hell; eſpecially if the time that Hope ſhould ſend forth her expected bloſſoms, be paſt in vain? It will eaſily be true, that a father or a brother may be hated zealouſly, and loved civilly or naturally; for thoſe duties may be performed at diſtance, and do admit of any long abſence: but how the peace and perpetual cohabitation of marriage can be kept, how that benevolent and intimate communion of body can be held with one that muſt be hated with a moſt operative hatred,

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hatred, muſt be forſaken and yet continually dwelt with and accompanied; he who can diſtinguiſh, hath the gift of an affection very oddly divided and contrived: while others both juſt and wiſe, and Solomon among the reſt, if they may not hate and forſake as Moſes enjoins, and the goſpel imports, will find it impoſſible not to love otherwiſe than will ſort with the love of God, whoſe jealouſy brooks no corrival. And whether is more likely, that Chriſt bidding to forſake wife for religion, meant it by divorce as Moſes meant it, whoſe law, grounded on moral reaſon, was both his office and his eſſence to maintain; or that he ſhould bring a new morality into religion, not only new, but contrary to an unchangeable command, and dangerouſly derogating from our love and worſhip of God? As if when Moſes had bid divorce abſolutely, and Chriſt had ſaid, hate and forſake, and his Apoſtle had ſaid, no communication with Chriſt and Belial; yet that Chriſt after all this could be underſtood to ſay, divorce not, no not for religion, ſeduce, or ſeduce not. What mighty and inviſible remora is this in matrimony, able to demur and to contemn all the divorcive engines in Heaven or earth! both which may now paſs away, if this be true, for more than many jots or tittles, a whole moral law is aboliſhed. But if we dare believe it is not, then in the method of religion, and to ſave the honour and dignity of our faith, we are to retreat and gather up ourſelves from the obſervance of an inferior and civil ordinance, to the ſtrict maintaining of a general and religious command, which is written, "Thou ſhalt make no covenant with them," Deut. vii, 2, 3: and that covenant which cannot be lawfully made, we have directions and examples lawfully to diſſolve. Alſo 2 Chron. ii, 19, "Shouldeſt thou love them that hate the Lord?" No, doubtleſs: for there is a certain ſcale of duties, there is a certain hierarchy of upper and lower commands, which for want of ſtudying in right order, all the world is in confuſion.

Upon theſe principles I anſwer, that a right believer ought to divorce an idolatrous heretic, unleſs upon better hopes: however, that it is in the believer's choice to divorce or not.

The former part will be manifeſt thus firſt, that an apoſtate

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apoſtate idolater, whether huſband or wife ſeducing, was to die by the decree of God, Deut. xiii, 6, 9; that marriage therefore God himſelf disjoins: for others born idolaters, the moral reaſon of their dangerous keeping, and the incommunicable antagony that is between Chriſt and Belial, will be ſufficient to enforce the commandment of thoſe two inſpired reformers Ezra and Nehemiah, to put an idolater away as well under the goſpel.

The latter part, that although there be no ſeducement feared, yet if there be no hope given, the divorce is lawful, will appear by this; that idolatrous marriage is ſtill hateful to God, therefore ſtill it may be divorced by the pattern of that warrant that Ezra had, and by the ſame everlaſting reaſon: Neither can any man give an account wherefore, if thoſe whom God joins no man can ſeparate, it ſhould not follow, that whom he joins not, but hates to join, thoſe men ought to ſeparate. But ſaith the lawyer, "That which ought not to have been done, once done, avails." I anſwer, "this is but a crotchet of the law, but that brought againſt it is plain Scripture." As for what Chriſt ſpake concerning divorce, it is confeſſed by all knowing men, he meant only between them of the ſame faith. But what ſhall we ſay then to St. Paul, who ſeems to bid us not divorce an infidel willing to ſtay? We may ſafely ſay thus, that wrong collections have been hitherto made out of thoſe words by modern divines. His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our ſtay in marriage with an infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and moral law; but to inform the Corinthians, that the body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his deſire to live in Chriſtian wedlock ſhowed any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith; and therefore adviſes to forbear departure ſo long till nothing have been neglected to ſet forward a converſion: this I ſay he adviſes, and that with certain cautions, not commands, if we can take up ſo much credit for him, as to get him believed upon his own word: for what is this elſe but his counſel in a thing indifferent, "to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord?" for though it be true, that the Lord never ſpake it, yet from St. Paul's mouth we ſhould have took it as a command, had not himſelf forewarned us, and diſclaimed; which

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which notwithſtanding if we ſhall ſtill avouch to be a command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound St. Paul, but to outface him. Neither doth it follow, that the Apoſtle may interpoſe his judgment in a caſe of Chriſtian liberty, without the guilt of adding to God's word. How do we know marriage or ſingle life to be of choice, but by ſuch like words as theſe, "I ſpeak this by permiſſion, not of commandment; I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my judgment." Why ſhall not the like words have leave to ſignify a freedom in this our preſent queſtion, though Beza deny? Neither is the Scripture hereby leſs inſpired, becauſe St. Paul confeſſes to have written therein what he had not of command: for we grant that the ſpirit of God led him thus to expreſs himſelf to Chriſtian prudence, in a matter which God thought beſt to leave uncommanded. Beza therefore muſt be warily read, when he taxes St. Auſtin of blaſphemy, for holding that St. Paul ſpake here as of a thing indifferent. But if it muſt be a command, I ſhall yet the more evince it to be a command that we ſhould herein be left free; and that out of the Greek word uſed in the 12 ver., which inſtructs us plainly, there muſt be a joint aſſent and good liking on both ſides: he that will not deprave the text muſt thus render it; "If a brother have an unbelieving wife, and ſhe join in conſent to dwell with him" (which cannot utter leſs to us than a mutual agreement) let him not put her away from the mere ſurmiſe of judaical uncleanneſs: and the reaſon follows, for the body of an infidel is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutual complacency forbids all offer of ſeducement, which to a perſon of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence: if therefore ſeducement be feared, this place hinders not divorce. Another caution was put in this ſuppoſed command, of not bringing the believer into 'bondage' hereby, which doubtleſs might prove extreme, if Chriſtian liberty and conſcience were left to the humour of a pagan ſtaying at pleaſure to play with, and to vex and wound with a thouſand ſcandals and burdens, above ſtrength to bear: If therefore the conceived hope of gaining a ſoul come to nothing, then charity commands that the believer be not wearied out with endleſs waiting under many grievances

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fore to his spirit; but that respect be had rather to the present suffering of a true Christian, than the uncertain winning of an obdured heretic. The counsel we have from St. Paul to hope, cannot countermand the moral and evangelic charge we have from God to fear seducement, to separate from the misbeliever, the unclean, the obdurate. The Apostle wisheth us to hope, but does not send us a wool-gathering after vain hope; he saith, "How knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?" that is, till he try all due means, and set some reasonable time to himself, after which he may give over washing an Ethiop, if he will hear the advice of the gospel; "Cast not pearls before swine," saith Christ himself. "Let him be to thee as a heathen. Shake the dust off thy feet" If this be not enough, "hate and forsake" what relation soever. And this also that follows must appertain to the precept, "Let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God," v. 24, that is, so walking in his inferior calling of marriage, as not by dangerous subjection to that ordinance, to hinder and disturb the higher calling of his christianity. Last, and never too oftremembered, whether this be a command, or an advice, we must look that it be so understood as not to contradict the least point of moral religion that God hath formerly commanded; otherwise what do we but set the moral law and the gospel at civil war together? and who then shall be able to serve these two masters!

## CHAP IX.

*That adultery is not the greatest breach of matrimony: that there may be other violations as great.*

Now whether idolatry or adultery be the greatest violation of marriage, if any demand let him thus consider; that among Christian writers touching matrimony, there be three chief ends thereof agreed on: godly society, next civil, and thirdly, that of the marriage-bed. Of these the first in name to be the highest and most excellent, no baptized man can deny, nor that idolatry smites directly against this prime end; nor that such as the violated end is,

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is, ſuch is the violation: but he who affirms adultery to be the higheſt breach, affirms the bed to be the higheſt of marriage, which is in truth a groſs and booriſh opinion, how common ſoever; as far from the countenance of Scripture, as from the light of all clean philoſophy or civil nature. And out of queſtion the cheerful help that may be in marriage toward ſanctity of life, is the pureſt, and ſo the nobleſt end of that contract: but if the particular of each perſon be conſidered, then of thoſe three ends which God appointed, that to him is greateſt which is moſt neceſſary; and marriage is then moſt broken to him, when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he moſt ſought therein, whether it were religious, civil, or corporal ſociety. Of which wants to do him right by divorce only for the laſt and meaneſt is a perverſe injury, and the pretended reaſon of it as frigid as frigidity itſelf, which the code and canon are only ſenſible of. Thus much of this controverſy. I now return to the former argument. And having ſhown that diſproportion, contrariety, or numbneſs of mind may juſtly be divorced, by proving already the prohibition thereof oppoſes the expreſs end of God's inſtitution, ſuffers not marriage to ſatisfy that intellectual and innocent deſire which God himſelf kindled in man to be the bond of wedlock, but only to remedy a ſublunary and beſtial burning, which frugal diet, without marriage, would eaſily chaſten. Next, that it drives many to tranſgreſs the conjugal bed, while the ſoul wanders after that ſatisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath miſſed; or elſe it fits repining, even to atheiſm, finding itſelf hardly dealt with, but miſdeeming the cauſe to be in God's law, which is in man's unrighteous ignorance. I have ſhown alſo how it unties the inward knot of marriage, which is peace and love (if that can be untied which was never knit) while it aims to keep faſt the outward formality: how it lets periſh the chriſtian man, to compel impoſſibly the married man.

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## CHAP. X.

*The sixth reason of this law; that to prohibit divorce sought for natural causes, is against nature.*

THE sixth place declares this prohibition to be as respectless of human nature, as it is of religion, and therefore is not of God. He teaches, that an unlawful marriage may be lawfully divorced: and that those who have thoroughly discerned each other's disposition, which ofttimes cannot be till after matrimony, shall then find a powerful reluctance and recoil of nature on either side, blasting all the content of their mutual society, that such persons are not lawfully married, (to use the Apostle's words) "Say I these things as a man, or saith not the law also the same? For it is written, Deut. xxii, Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with different seeds, lest thou defile both. Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together;" and the like. I follow the pattern of St. Paul's reasoning; "Doth God care for asses and oxen," how ill they yoke together, "or is it not said altogether for our sakes? for our sakes no doubt this is written." Yea the Apostle himself, in the forecited 2 Cor. vi, 14, alludes from that place of Deut. to forbid misyoking marriage, as by the Greek word is evident; though he instance but in one example of mismatching with an infidel, yet next to that, what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend secret of nature, than to force a mixture of minds that cannot unite, and to sow the sorrow of man's nativity with seed of two incoherent and incombining dispositions? which act being kindly and voluntary, as it ought, the Apostle in the language he wrote called eunoia, and the Latins, benevolence, intimating the original thereof to be in the understanding, and the will; if not, surely there is nothing which might more properly be called a malevolence rather; and is the most injurious and unnatural tribute that can be extorted from a person endued with reason, to be made pay out the best substance of his body, and of his soul too, as some think, when either for just and powerful causes he cannot like, or from unequal causes finds not recompense. And that there is a hidden efficacy of love and hatred in man as well as in other kinds, not

moral but natural, which though not always in the choice, yet in the ſucceſs of marriage will ever be moſt predominant; beſides daily experience, the author of Eccleſiaſticus, whoſe wiſdom hath ſet him next the Bible, acknowledges, xiii, 16, "A man, ſaith he, will cleave to his like." But what might be the cauſe, whether each one's allotted Genius or proper ſtar, or whether the ſupernal * influence of ſchemes and angular aſpects, or this elemental craſis here below; whether all theſe jointly or ſingly meeting friendly, or unfriendly in either party, I dare not, with the men I am like to claſh, appear ſo much a philoſopher as to conjecture. The ancient proverb in Homer leſs abſtruſe, entitles this work of leading each like perſon to his like, peculiarly to God himſelf: which is plain enough alſo by his naming of a meet or like help in the firſt eſpouſal inſtituted; and that every woman is meet for every man, none ſo abſurd as to affirm. Seeing then there is a twofold ſeminary, or ſtock in nature, from whence are derived the iſſues of love and hatred, diſtinctly flowing through the whole maſs of created things, and that God's doing ever is to bring the due likeneſſes and harmonies of his works together, except when out of two contraries met to their own deſtruction, he moulds a third exiſtence; and that it is errour, or ſome evil angel which either blindly or malicioufly hath drawn together, in two perſons ill embarked in wedlock, the ſleeping diſcords and enmities of nature, lulled on purpoſe with ſome falſe bait, that they may wake to agony and ſtrife, later than prevention could have wiſhed, if from the bent of juſt and honeſt intentions beginning what was begun and ſo continuing, all that is equal, all that is fair and poſſible hath been tried, and no accommodation likely to ſucceed; what folly is it ſtill to ſtand combating and battering againſt invincible cauſes and effects, with evil upon evil, till either the beſt of our days be lingered out, or ended with ſome ſpeeding ſorrow? The wiſe Eccleſiaſticus adviſes rather, xxxvii, 27, "My ſon prove thy ſoul in thy life, ſee what is evil for it, and give not that unto it." Reaſon he had to ſay ſo; for if the noiſomeneſs or diſfigurement of body

* The firſt edition has *ſupernatural.*

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can ſoon deſtroy the ſympathy of mind to wedlock duties, much more will the annoyance and trouble of mind infuſe itſelf into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy againſt the fundamental law book of nature, which Moſes never thwarts, but reverences: therefore he commands us to force nothing againſt ſympathy or natural order, no not upon the moſt abject creatures; to ſhow that ſuch an indignity cannot be offered to man without an impious crime. And certainly thoſe divine meditating words of finding out a meet and like help to man, have in them a conſideration of more than the indefinite likeneſs of womanhood; nor are they to be made waſte paper on, for the dulneſs of canon divinity: no, nor thoſe other allegoric precepts of beneficence fetched out of the cloſet of nature, to teach us goodneſs and compaſſion in not compelling together unmatchable ſocieties; or if they meet through miſchance, by all conſequence to disjoin them, as God and nature ſignifies, and lectures to us not only by thoſe recited decrees, but even by the firſt and laſt of all his viſible works; when by his divorcing command the world firſt roſe out of chaos, nor can be renewed again out of confuſion, but by the ſeparating of unmeet conſorts.

## CHAP. XI.

*The ſeventh reaſon, that ſometimes continuance in marriage may be evidently the ſhortening or endangering of life to either party; both law and divinity concluding, that life is to be preferred before marriage, the intended ſolace of life.*

SEVENTHLY, the canon law and divines conſent, that if either party be found contriving againſt another's life, they may be ſevered by divorce: for a ſin againſt the life of marriage, is greater than a ſin againſt the bed; the one deſtroys, the other but defiles. The ſame may be ſaid touching thoſe perſons who being of a penſive nature and courſe of life, have ſummed up all their ſolace in that free and lightſome converſation which God and man intends in marriage; whereof when they ſee themſelves deprived by meeting an unſociable conſort, they ofttimes reſent one another's miſtake ſo deeply, that long



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it is not ere grief end one of them. When therefore this danger is foreseen, that the life is in peril by living together, what matter is it whether helpless grief or wilful practice be the cause? This is certain, that the preservation of life is more worth than the compulsory keeping of marriage; and it is no less than cruelty to force a man to remain in that state as the solace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the disheartening of his life. And what is life without the vigour and spiritual exercise of life? How can it be useful either to private or public employment? Shall it therefore be quite dejected, though never so valuable, and left to moulder away in heaviness, for the superstitious and impossible performance of an ill driven bargain? Nothing more inviolable than vows made to God; yet we read in Numbers, that if a wife had made such a vow, the mere will and authority of her husband might break it: how much more then may he break the errour of his own bonds with an unfit and mistaken wife, to the saving of his welfare, his life, yea his faith and virtue, from the hazard of overstrong temptations? For if man be lord of the sabbath, to the curing of a fever, can he be less than lord of marriage in such important causes as these?

## CHAP. XII.

*The eighth reason, It is probable or rather certain, that every one who happens to marry, hath not the calling; and therefore upon unfitness found and considered, force ought not to be used.*

EIGHTHLY, It is most sure that some even of those who are not plainly defective in body, yet are destitute of all other marriageable gifts, and consequently have not the calling to marry, unless nothing be requisite thereto but a mere instrumental body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous covenant a reproach: yet it is as sure that many such, not of their own desire, but by the persuasion of friends, or not knowing themselves, do often enter into wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the duties of a married life, and the gifts of a single life, what unfitness of mind, what wearisomeness, scruples and doubts to an incredible offence and displeasure are like

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like to follow between, may be ſoon imagined; whom thus to ſhut up, and immure, and ſhut up together, the one with a miſchoſen mate, the other in a miſtaken calling, is not a courſe that Chriſtian wiſdom and tenderneſs ought to uſe. As for the cuſtom that ſome parents and guardians have of forcing marriages, it will be better to ſay nothing of ſuch a ſavage inhumanity, but only thus; that the law which gives not all freedom of divorce to any creature endued with reaſon ſo aſſaſſinated, is next in cruelty.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The ninth reaſon; becauſe marriage is not a mere carnal coition, but a human ſociety: where that cannot reaſonably be had, there can be no true matrimony. Marriage compared with all other covenants and vows warrantably broken for the good of man. Marriage the Papiſts ſacrament, and unfit marriage the Proteſtants idol.*

NINTHLY, I ſuppoſe it will be allowed us that marriage is a human ſociety, and that all human ſociety muſt proceed from the mind rather than the body, elſe it would be but a kind of animal or beaſtiſh meeting: if the mind therefore cannot have that due company by marriage that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, that marriage can be no human ſociety, but a certain formality; or gilding over of little better than a brutiſh congreſs, and ſo in very wiſdom and pureneſs to be diſſolved.

But marriage is more than human, "the covenant of God," Prov. ii, 17, therefore man cannot diſſolve it. I anſwer, if it be more than human, ſo much the more it argues the chief ſociety thereof to be in the ſoul rather than in the body, and the greateſt breach thereof to be unfitneſs of mind rather than defect of body: for the body can have leaſt affinity in a covenant more than human, ſo that the reaſon of diſſolving holds good the rather. Again, I anſwer, that the ſabbath is a higher inſtitution, a command of the firſt table, for the breach whereof God hath far more and oftener teſtified his anger than for divorces, which from Moſes to Malachi he never took diſpleaſure at, nor then neither if we mark the text; and yet as oft as the good of man is concerned, he not only permits, but commands to break the ſabbath. What covenant more contracted with God and leſs

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in man's power, than the vow which hath once paſſed his lips? yet if it be found raſh, if offenſive, if unfruitful either to God's glory or the good of man, our doctrine forces not errour and unwillingneſs irkſomely to keep it, but counſels wiſdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therefore to enjoin the indiſſoluble keeping of a marriage found unfit againſt the good of man both ſoul and body, as hath been evidenced, is to make an idol of marriage, to advance it above the worſhip of God and the good of man, to make it a tranſcendent command, above both the ſecond and firſt table; which is a moſt prodigious doctrine.

Next whereas they cite out of the Proverbs, that it is the covenant of God, and therefore more than human, that conſequence is manifeſtly falſe: for ſo the covenant which Zedekiah made with the infidel king of Babel, is called the Covenant of God, Ezek. xvii, 19, which would be ſtrange to hear counted more than a human covenant. So every covenant between man and man, bound by oath, may be called the covenant of God, becauſe God therein is atteſted. So of marriage he is the author and the witneſs; yet hence will not follow any divine aſtriction more than what is ſubordinate to the glory of God, and the main good of either party: for as the glory of God and their eſteemed fitneſs one for the other, was the motive which led them both at firſt to think without other revelation that God had joined them together; ſo when it ſhall be found by their apparent unfitneſs, that their continuing to be man and wife is againſt the glory of God and their mutual happineſs, it may aſſure them that God never joined them; who hath revealed his gracious will not to ſet the ordinance above the man for whom it was ordained; not to canonize marriage either as a tyranneſs or a goddeſs over the enfranchiſed life and ſoul of man; for wherein can God delight, wherein be worſhipped, wherein be glorified by the forcible continuing of an improper and illyoking couple? He that loved not to ſee the diſparity of ſeveral cattle at the plough, cannot be pleaſed with vaſt unmeetneſs in marriage. Where can be the peace and love which muſt invite God to ſuch a houſe? May it not be feared that the not divorcing of ſuch a helpleſs diſagreement will be the divorcing of God



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finally from such a place? But it is a trial of our patience, say they: I grant it; but which of Job's afflictions were sent him with that law, that he might not use means to remove any of them if he could? And what if it subvert our patience and our faith too? Who shall answer for the perishing of all those souls, perishing by stubborn expositions of particular and inferior precepts against the general and supreme rule of charity? They dare not affirm that marriage is either a sacrament or a mystery, though all those sacred things give place to man; and yet they invest it with such an awful sanctity, and give it such adamantine chains to bind with, as if it were to be worshipped like some Indian deity, when it can confer no blessing upon us, but works more and more to our misery. To such teachers the saying of St. Peter at the council of Jerusalem will do well to be applied: "Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks of" christian men, which neither the Jews, God's ancient people, "nor we are able to bear;" and nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us?

## CHAP. XIV.

*Considerations concerning Familism, Antinomianism; and why it may be thought that such opinions may proceed from the undue restraint of some just liberty, than which no greater cause to contemn discipline.*

To these considerations this also may be added as no improbable conjecture, seeing that sort of men who follow Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism, and other fanatic dreams (if we understand them not amiss) be such most commonly as are by nature addicted to religion, of life also not debauched, and that their opinions having full swing, do end in satisfaction of the flesh; it may be come with reason into the thoughts of a wise man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the restraint of some lawful liberty, which ought to be given men, and is denied them? As by physick we learn in menstruous bodies, where nature's current hath been stopped, that the suffocation and upward forcing of some lower part affects the head and inward sense with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the rest of vulgar men not so religiously professing, do not give themselves much the more to whoredom and adulteries, loving the corrupt and venial discipline of clergy-

clergy-courts. but hating to hear of perfect reformation; whenas they foreſee that then fornication ſhall be auſterely cenſured, adultery puniſhed; and marriage the appointed refuge of nature, though it hap to be never ſo incongruous and diſpleaſing, muſt yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpoſe but of ſtrife and hatred, a thing odious to God? This may be worth the ſtudy of ſkilful men in theology, and the reaſon of things. And laſtly, to examine whether ſome undue and ill grounded ſtrictneſs upon the blameleſs nature of man, be not the cauſe in thoſe places where already reformation is, that the diſcipline of the Church, ſo often, and ſo unavoidably broken, is brought into contempt and deriſion? And if it be thus, let thoſe who are ſtill bent to hold this obſtinate literality, ſo prepare themſelves, as to ſhare in the account for all theſe tranſgreſſions, when it ſhall be demanded at the laſt day, by one who will ſcan and ſhift things with more than a literal wiſdom of equity: for if theſe reaſons be duly pondered, and that the goſpel is more jealous of laying on exceſſive burdens than ever the law was, leſt the ſoul of a Chriſtian, which is ineſtimable, ſhould be overtempted and caſt away; conſidering alſo that many properties of nature, which the power of regeneration itſelf never alters, may cauſe diſlike of converſing, even between the moſt ſanctified; which continually grating in harſh tune together, may breed ſome jar and diſcord, and that end in rancour and ſtrife, a thing ſo oppoſite both to marriage and to Chriſtianity, it would perhaps be leſs ſcandal to divorce a natural diſparity, than to link violently together an unchriſtian diſſenſion, committing two inſnared ſouls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred irreconcileable; who, were they diſſevered, would be ſtraight friends in any other relation. But if an alphabetical ſervility muſt be ſtill urged, it may ſo fall out, that the true Church may unwittingly uſe as much cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as the Church of Antichriſt doth wilfuly in forbidding to marry.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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